

Bartolomeo Bortolazzi (1772-1846): Mandolinist, Singer, and Presumed Carbonaro

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Resumo

Os dicionários de música e enciclopédias que incluem entradas referentes a Bartolomeo Bortolazzi (Toscolano, Itália, 1772—Paraíba do Sul, Brasil, finais de 1845 ou inícios de 1846) apresentam uma biografia muito pouco detalhada de um figura chave na história do bandolim e da guitarra (violão). Durante a primeira década do século XIX, Bortolazzi obteve sucesso em Viena, Leipzig, Dresden e Londres como virtuoso do bandolim, e manteve-se activo também como guitarrista e cantor, professor de música, compositor de música instrumental e vocal, e como autor de dois métodos para bandolim e também para guitarra, que se tornaram sucesso de vendas. Este percurso exemplar foi interrompido em 1809, aquando a mudança com a família para o Brasil. Amplamente desconhecida na literatura musicológica, a segunda parte da sua vida foi repleta de eventos. Viveu no Rio de Janeiro e São Paulo, e nas terras altas e costeiras do Rio de Janeiro, enquanto o seu filho mais velho se aventurou mais a sul, em Porto Alegre, como actor, cantor e guitarrista. A biografia de Bortolazzi revela inesperadas ligações entre música, teatro, política e maçonaria no século XIX no Brasil e, simultaneamente, demonstra o percurso profissional e artístico de um imigrante sem educação formal ou fortuna, mas com notáveis competências sociais.

Palavras-chave

Bartolomeo Bortolazzi; Bandolim; Guitarra (Violão); Música no Brasil; Música e Maçonaria.

Abstract

Entries on Bartolomeo Bortolazzi (Toscolano, Italy, 1772—Parahiba do Sul, Brazil, late 1845 or early 1846) in standard music dictionaries and encyclopedias barely scratch the life of a key figure in the history of the mandolin and the six-string guitar. During the first decade of the nineteenth century, Bortolazzi enjoyed relative success in Vienna, Leipzig, Dresden, and London as a mandolin virtuoso, competent guitarist and singer, music educator, composer of instrumental and vocal music, and author of two best-selling methods for the mandolin and the guitar. This remarkable trajectory was interrupted in 1809, when he moved with his family to Brazil. Largely ignored by musicological literature, the second half of his life was highly eventful. He lived in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, and in the highlands and coastal areas of the Province of Rio de Janeiro, while his oldest son ventured as far south as Porto Alegre, also working as an actor, singer, and guitarist. Bortolazzi's biography reveals unforeseen connections between music, theater, politics, and masonry in nineteenth-century Brazil, while showing the professional and artistic paths of an immigrant with no formal education or fortune but remarkable social skills.

Keywords

Bartolomeo Bortolazzi; Mandolin; Guitar; Music in Brazil; Music and Freemasonry.

WHEN BARTOLOMEO BORTOLAZZI left the village of Parahiba do Sul in the summer of 1845-6, he knew the trip was going to be exhausting. It was the beginning of the rainy season and this branch of the Estrada Real, paved with irregular stones, crossed the notoriously rugged Serra dos Órgãos. If these had been different times, the 100-kilometer trip to Rio de Janeiro would have meant very little to him, who spent most of his life on the move. But he was now a 73-year-old man, undergoing a treatment for hepatic and cardiac problems.¹ That was when his friend, the priest José Luiz de Freitas, invited him to spend some time at his farm in the highlands. When, for some reason, Bortolazzi needed to get back to the capital, he did not gather all his valuable items, maybe expecting a quick return. He died ‘almost all of a sudden’, when passing through the nearby village of Sant’Anna de Seboillas, as described by Padre Freitas, who took care of his funeral and began the inventory procedures.² Among the items he left at Freitas’s farmhouse was ‘one guitar with its case’. The majority of his possessions remained in the house where he was living in Rio, in the Rua do Conde 38, property of the baker Francisco Luiz Morey. There he left, among other things, two mandolins and ‘a bunch of music, old and new’.

One of the most celebrated mandolin players of the early nineteenth century, Bartolomeo Bortolazzi was also a competent guitarist and singer, composer of instrumental and vocal music, music educator, and the author of two best-selling methods for the mandolin and guitar. He was also a known freemason, a lifestyle that often intersected with his musical interests. Yet, his biographers have failed to provide any useful information about his late years. Schilling (1835) and Fétis (1837) ignored Bortolazzi’s stay in London, simply stating that he had settled in Vienna around 1805, information that was repeated in most subsequent biographical dictionaries.³ Eitner (1900) and Bone (1914) do mention his London years,⁴ but the former created two entries, one for *Barthélemy*⁵ Bortolazzi, who supposedly lived in Germany and Austria and composed for mandolin and guitar, and one for Bartolomeo Bortolazzi, who lived in London at the same time and composed Masonic

¹ A pioneer of homeopathy in Brazil, Dr. Duque-Estrada diagnosed Bortolazzi with hepatitis, spleen inflammation, and pericardial effusion. Domingos de Azevedo Coutinho DUQUE-ESTRADA, ‘L’Homoeopathie au Brésil—Faits Cliniques’, *Journal de la Médecine Homoeopatique*, 2 (1846), pp. 465-72.

² Padre Freitas spent 30 000 réis for Bortolazzi’s funeral, about fair for a lower middle-class white person. Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional, ZN Serie Inventários - Juízo de Órfãos e Ausentes, cx 510 no 634, gal A 1846, [Inventário de Bartholomeu Bartholazzi], f. 5v. Freitas used to be a member of José Bonifácio’s Apostolado, with the nickname Serrano. Henri RAFFARD, ‘Apontamentos acerca de pessoas e cousas do Brasil’, *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 61/Parte 2 (1898), pp. 5-565, at p. 93.

³ Gustav SCHILLING, *Encyclopädie der Gesammten Musikalischen Wissenschaften oder Universal Lexikon der Tonkunst*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart, Köhler, 1835), p. 731. François-Joseph FÉTIS, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, vol. 2 (Bruxelles, Meline, Cans & Compagnie, 1837), p. 279.

⁴ Philip James BONE, *The Guitar and Mandolin: Biographies of Celebrated Players and Composers for these Instruments* (London, Schott, 1914), p. 51-2.

⁵ Alternative spellings are given in italics and refer to the primary source being referred to in the specific passage.

music.⁶ Zuth (1920) clarified that there were, in fact, two Bortolazzis—Bartolomeo and his son, the latter being a guitarist, who accompanied his mandolinist father in performances in Germany and Austria around 1803-5. Yet, Zuth implicitly accepted Eitner's erroneous assumption that their names were Bartolomeo and Barthélemy.⁷ Weinmann resurrected the confusion in his 1973 article for *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, basically a combination of texts by Fétis, Eitner, and Zuth.⁸ This uncertainty still permeates Elisabeth Hilscher's updated article for the 2000 *MGG*.⁹ To date, *Grove* has remained silent about Bortolazzi.

Italian biographers certainly went further, but given the local reach of their publications, their research has not been adequately processed. In 1880, Claudio Fossati wrote a multipart article in the newspaper *La Sentinella Bresciana*,¹⁰ providing details on Bortolazzi's birth, early career, and travels. Fossati's text was the main source for the entries on *Bertolazzi* and *Bortolazza*, respectively in Andrea Valentini's (1894)¹¹ and Giovanni Bignami's (1963, repr. 1985)¹² dictionaries of Brescian musicians. Virginio Cattaneo based his 1971 text partly on these authors, but provided for the first time transcriptions of birth records of the mandolinist and his son Giacomo Giuseppe.¹³

In 1967, Bortolazzi made his first appearance in Brazilian musicology. Ayres de Andrade included a brief note about *Bartholomeu Bartolazzi* in a compilation of musicians active in Rio de Janeiro during the first half of the nineteenth century. His text included the transcription of an advertisement placed on 10 February 1826 in the newspaper *O Spectador Brasileiro*, in which Bortolazzi offered private lessons on music, singing, *viola* (five-course guitar), *viola francesa* (guitar),¹⁴ and mandolin.¹⁵ Andrade did not make any effort to trace the name or any of its variants in the standard dictionaries of composers, and local scholars made little use of his findings until the 1990s. In 1996, Vanda Freire unveiled another newspaper advertisement, this one from 1844, in

⁶ Rob EITNER, *Biographisch—Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen zeitrechnung bis zur mitte des neunzehnten jahrhunderts*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Haertel, 1900), p. 142.

⁷ Josef ZUTH, *Simon Molitor und die Wiener Gitarristik* (Wien, A. Goll, [1920]), p. 77.

⁸ Alexander WEINMANN, 'Bortolazzi, Bartolomeo', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by Friedrich Blume, vol. 15 (supplement) (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1973), p. 971.

⁹ Elisabeth Th. HILSCHER, 'Bortolazzi, Bartolomeo, Barthelemy', *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, edited by Ludwig Finscher, vol. 3 (personenteil) (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 2000), pp. 460-1.

¹⁰ Claudio FOSSATI, 'Di alcuni artisti di Riviera e della provincia di Brescia', *La Sentinella Bresciana*, 295 (23 October 1880), 296 (24 October 1880), 297 (25 October 1880), and 298 (26 October 1880) available at <<http://www.archividelgarda.it/uploads/Biblioteca/Monografie/Artisti%20di%20Riviera,%20Fossati.pdf>> (accessed 30 May 2015). Directly or not, recent texts by Poselli and Severini still rely mainly on Fossati.

¹¹ Andrea VALENTINI, *I Musicisti Bresciani ed il Teatro Grande* (Brescia, Tipografia Queriniana, 1894), pp. 115-6.

¹² Giovanni BIGNAMI, *Enciclopedia dei Musicisti Bresciani* (Milan, Fondazione Civiltà Bresciana, 1963), p. 55.

¹³ Virginio CATTANEO, 'Storia della Chitarra a Brescia, a mo' di Dizionario dei Citarristi, Liutisti, Chitarristi', in *Cattaneo Chitarra Prima* (Brescia, 1971). The entry on Bertolazza was reprinted in 'Idee a Confronto', *Il Fronimo*, 101 (January 1998), pp. 48-9.

¹⁴ During the early nineteenth century, the six-string guitar was known in the Portuguese language as *viola francesa*. In the 1820s, Brazilians started to use the form *violão*, literally a large *viola*.

¹⁵ Ayres de ANDRADE, *Francisco Manuel da Silva e seu tempo*, vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro, Tempo Brasileiro, 1967), p. 144-5.

which Bortolazzi (*Bortolozzi*) was offering guitar and singing lessons after, as he thought, recovering from his dreadful illness.¹⁶ In 2011, Márcia Taborda identified the man in those advertisements as the Italian virtuoso, but stopped short of exploring any other aspect of his biography.¹⁷ Finally, three years later, Luiz Alves da Silva unveiled a note from the diary of a Swiss resident in Rio de Janeiro showing that in 1831, Bortolazzi used to play the guitar in the musical clubs promoted by the local elite.¹⁸ Silva also corrected some problems in previous biographies and made further comments on the presence of the guitar in social settings in Rio de Janeiro during the early nineteenth century.

In spite of these findings, very little is known about Bortolazzi's main life events after leaving Europe. The present article sheds further light on his family affairs, professional engagements, patrons, and Masonic connections in Vienna and London and provides new data on the second half of his life, highlighting connections between music, theater, and politics in nineteenth-century Brazil. It relies on life records, court documents, and newspapers to trace a biographical sketch of Bortolazzi not only as a performer, composer, and pedagogue, but also a pioneer of music publishing, an estranged father, a well-connected ideologue, and a controversial case study in early homeopathy.

From itinerant artist to virtuoso performer

After carefully examining parochial records of the Province of Brescia, local historian and notary Claudio Fossati determined that Bortolazzi (he uses the spellings *Bartolazzi* and *Bertolazza*) was born on the night of 2 to 3 March 1772 in Toscolano, western shore of the Garda Lake, when this area was part of the Venetian Republic.¹⁹ The region was famous for its paper mills and Bortolazzi's family had been connected with the business of paper making since the fifteenth century. In 1782, Domenico *Bertolazza*, his father, was renting one of the Zuanelli mills formerly owned by the Dominican monks at the Religione quarter of Toscolano.²⁰ The young Bartolomeo

¹⁶ Vanda Lima Bellard FREIRE, 'O ensino de música no Brasil oitocentista', *Anais do V Encontro Annual da ABEM* (ABEM, Londrina, 1996), [n.p.].

¹⁷ Marcia TABORDA, *Violão e identidade nacional* (Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2011), pp. 72-3.

¹⁸ '[28 January, 1831] Friday. I was in the musical society, and plaid on Mr. Heckel's fiddle. Bortolazzi played the guitar'. Luiz Alves da SILVA, 'Heinrich e Cécile Däniker-Haller, a música doméstica na vida de uma casal de comerciantes suíços entre Zurique e o Rio de Janeiro imperial, 1811-1863' (Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2014).

¹⁹ '364 Adi 4 Marzo 1772 / Bartolommeo Francesco figl.o del Sg. Domenico di Gia- / como Bertolazza, e della Sig.ra Appollonia sua cons.te / nato la note 2, 3 corr.te è stato battezz.to da me arcp. / Canetti. Il Comp.e è stato l'Eccell. Sp. D.r Francesco / figl.o del Sp. D.r Bortol.o Moncelise di Maderno. Italy, Toscolano, *Libro de Battezzati 1695 sin 1775*, f. 248.' See CATTANEO, 'Idee a confronto' (see note 13), p. 48.

²⁰ In 1741 Domenico Bertolazza was mentioned as the buyer of the Luseti paper mill. The earliest mention to the Bertolazza family is a 1460 transaction between brothers Percivale and Lorandino Landerna and the brothers Pasino and Giovanni Bertolazza, involving the sale of a hammer mill (*follo*) formerly used in the manufacture of paper. Ivo MATTOZZI, 'Il distretto cartario dello stato veneziano. Lavoro e produzione nella Valle del Toscolano dal XIV al XVIII secolo', in *Cartai e stampatori a Toscolano Maderno*, edited by Carlo Simoni (Brescia, Grafo, 1995), pp. 4, 24, 34, 37.

may have been trained as a paper maker, but he soon developed other interests. As Fossati claims, around 1790 he embarked on an adventurous career of itinerant musician and actor, joining guitar players Bazzani and Lena, and a certain Pietro Ferrari, ‘who used to sing buffo arias’, on a tour through Northern Italy, France, and the Tirol. Bignami and Cattaneo specifically mention the Piedmont, Marseille, Toulon, and Trento, where Bartolomeo allegedly met and married Margarita Leonardi. However these biographers did not provide any additional information on Bortolazzi’s fellow performers, or on the type of spectacle they delivered. One possibility is that Pietro Ferrari was the Milanese actor and singer, specialized on the *Arlecchino* role, who directed a company of comic actors in northern Italy during the 1770s and 1780s.²¹

When his nomadic life was interrupted by the Revolution, Bortolazzi returned to Toscolano, where, on 29 March 1796, Margarita gave birth to Giacomo Giuseppe.²² The growing family moved to Vienna at some point between 1796 and 1799. On that year, Hummel, then living in the Austrian capital, dedicated him a mandolin concerto.²³ Fossati recounts that in Vienna, Bortolazzi found himself a gifted but illiterate performer; at least until he met the pianist and composer Giancarlo Colò, six years his junior, who allegedly taught him music theory and composition. Colò was a native of Riva, on the northern shore of the Garda Lake, and studied in Salzburg before settling in Vienna in 1793.²⁴ In 1801, Bortolazzi was living at Walfischgasse 1087 and was employed as a musician at the Burgtheater.²⁵ This information appears in the obituaries of his two-year old daughter Theresa²⁶ and one-year old son Franz,²⁷ published in the *Wiener Zeitung* on 12 October and 16 December. His whereabouts were documented again in mid- 1803, when he began a series

²¹ Francesco BARTOLI, *Notizie Istoriche de' Comici Italiani che fiorirono intorno all' anno MDL fino a' giorni presenti*, vol. 1 (Padua, Per Li Conzatti a S. Lorenzo, 1781), p. 211.

²² ‘444 Adi 29 marzo 1796 / Giacomo Giuseppe Figlio di Boltolamio, Figlio di Dom.co Bertolazza e di / Margarita Leonardi sua Legitima Consorte nato questa scorsa notte questa / sera portato alla Parocchiale, è stato Battezzato da me Faustino Badinelli / Arcip.te, essendo il Compadre L'Eccel.te Sig.e D.r Giuseppe Sgraffignoli q.re Carlo. Italy, Toscolano, Libro de Battezzati 1775 sino 18 gennaio 1813, f. 65’. See CATTANEO, ‘Idee a confronto’ (see note 13), p. 48.

²³ Johann Nepomuk HUMMEL, ‘Concerto for mandoline (“scritto per Barthol: Bortolazi, 1799”)', London, British Library, Music Manuscripts, Add 32216, ff. 117-129; 32217, ff. 42-44. Hummel lived in London in the early 1790s, but moved to Vienna in 1793. He visited London in 1794-5, after which he only returned in the 1830s. Mark KROLL, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel: A Musician's Life and World* (Lanham, Scarecrow Press, 2007), pp. 34ff, 136ff.

²⁴ Antonio CARLINI, *Giancarlo Colò (1778-1844): Aspetti Biografici*, available at <<http://www.corradoruzza.it/Ricerca/Colo/Colo.html>> (accessed 31 May 2015).

²⁵ Beethoven lived on this address, second floor, during March and April of 1809. As he explained to the Baron von Gleichenstein, a brothel functioned in the building. Ludwig van BEETHOVEN, *The Letters of Beethoven*, edited by Emily Anderson (New York, W. W. Norton, 1986), letters 213 and 215.

²⁶ Verstorbene zu Wien [...] Den 7. October. In der Stadt. [...] Dem Hrn. Barth. Bortolazzi, Musicus im k. k. [Kaiser-Königlich] N. Th. [National Theater = Burgtheater] s. K. [sein Kind] Ther. alt 2 J. in der Wallfischg. N. 1087. *Wiener Zeitung* (14 October 1801), p. 3701.

²⁷ Verstorbene zu Wien [...] Den 10 December. In der Stadt. [...] Dem Hrn. Bartholoma Bortolazzi, Musicus, s. K. Franz, alt 1 J. in der Wallfischg. N. 1087. *Wiener Zeitung* (16 December 1801), p. 4475.

of concerts in German lands.²⁸ The *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* published a mixed review of a performance in Dresden on 2 September, acknowledging Bortolazzi's dexterity but complaining about the 'poor instrument' he played, which produced 'only chirping, not a sustained note, no singing'.²⁹ Fossati apparently alluded to another concert in Dresden some days later, at the Harmoniegesellschaft, apparently leaving a better impression.³⁰

Fu in Sassonia; a Dresda venne accolto dalla corte e festeggiato con istraordinarie dimostrazioni di favore dalla Grande Società musicale l'Armonia. A ricordare l'entusiasmo suscitato dal concerto dato la sera del 10 settembre 1803 l'intera città fece stampare in seta due sonetti italiani in onore del nostro toscolanese e ritrarne le maschie sembianze adorne di emblemi dell'arte.

[He was in Saxony; in Dresden he was received by the Court and celebrated with extraordinary demonstrations by the famous musical society *Harmonie*. As a memento of the enthusiasm generated by the concert given on the evening of 10 September 1803, the city, by unanimous decision, had printed on silk two Italian sonnets honoring our Toscolanese and his masculine semblance adorned with emblems of art.]

Although this lively report still needs to be confirmed, Fossati's son, Donato, allegedly possessed copies of the silk-printed Italian sonnets and portrait as material evidence of Bortolazzi's success.³¹ In October, Bortolazzi was performing in Leipzig, accompanied by his son. This time, the *AMZ* reviewer was mostly positive, on a clear answer to his Dresden colleague.³²

Herr Bortolazzi, Virtuos auf der Mandoline. Auf der Mandoline? wiederholen viele Leser kopfschüttelnd und lächelnd. Es sey drum! Wahr ist es allerdings, dass dies kleine, beschränkte, in weniger geschickter Hand nur zirpende Instrument nicht ohne Grund wenig Kredit in Deutschland hat: aber Hr. B. giebt einen vollgültigen Beweis, wie Geist, Gefühl, Geschmack und unermüdlicher Fleiss auch durch ein unbedeutendes Organ zu sprechen vermögen. Seine Konzerte mit voller Orchesterbegleitung können, der Natur der Sache nach, weniger interessiren: aber seine Variationen und ähnliche kleinere Stücke, (meistens von seinem siebenjährigen Sohne auf der Guitarre, und gut begleitet,) so wie sein Improvisiren, sind sehr hörenswerth und äusserst erfreulich. Schwerlich

²⁸ In 1802, Bortolazzi may have left Vienna temporarily. Extant works held at libraries in Prague and Wrocław (then Breslau) hint at a possible stay in these cities.

²⁹ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 50 (7 September 1803), col. 836.

³⁰ FOSSATI, 'Di alcuni artisti' (see note 10). Unless indicated otherwise, all translations are mine.

³¹ Donato FOSSATI, *Benacum. Storia di Toscolano* (Toscolano, Ateneo di Salò, 2001 [1941]), p. 170.

³² *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 3 (19 October 1803), col. 45-6. English translation by James TYLER and Paul SPARKS, *The Early Mandolin* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 101.

möchte irgend Jemand, als ein Italiener, durch Kleines so interessant werden können. Hr. B. hat auch artige Compositionen für sein Instrument herausgegeben; andere werden bald erscheinen.

[Herr Bortolazzi. Virtuoso on the mandolin. On the mandolin? many readers repeated, shaking their heads and grinning. So be it. Though it is true that this small, limited, chirpy instrument, which is well-played by few, has gained little credit in Germany, Hr. B. gives a sterling demonstration, with imagination and feeling. Tastefully and with unflagging industry he is able to speak through this paltry instrument. His concertos with full orchestra are, by their very nature, of little interest: but his Variations and similar small pieces (mostly with his seven-year-old son, who accompanies well on the guitar), and also his improvisations, are most delightful and well worth hearing. Scarcely anyone at all, other than an Italian, would be inclined to become skilled in such a small interest. Hr. B. has also published pleasing compositions for his instrument; others are still to appear.]

The Leipzig concert took place at the Gewandhaus Hall and its program was recorded in the Society's 100th-birthday *Festschrift* book.³³

6. Oct. Concert der Herren Crälius und Bortolazzi.

Crälius sang Scene von Gürlich, Arie mit obligatem Fagott von Righini, Arie von Weigl und Duett von Righini (mit Mad. Schicht). Bortolazzi spielte ein Concert auf der Mandoline mit Begleitung des Orchesters eigener Composition, ferner eine Romanze für Mandoline von Winter (accompagnirt auf der Guitarre von seinem 7 jährigen Sohne) und Variationen für Mandoline und Guitarre (mit seinem Sohne). Eine 'Sinfonie' von Cherubini eröffnete den ersten, eine Sinfonie von Weigl den zweiten Theil des Concertes.

[6 October. Concert of Herren Crälius und Bortolazzi.

Crälius sang a scene by Gürlich, an aria with obbligato bassoon by Righini, an aria by Weigl and a duet by Righini (with Mad. Schicht). Bortolazzi played a concerto for the mandolin with orchestra accompaniment of his own composition, also a romance for mandolin by Winter (accompanied on the guitar by his 7-year-old son) and variations for mandolin and guitar (with his son). A symphony by Cherubini opened the first part, a symphony by Weigl the second part of the concert.]

Although there is no record that Bortolazzi had ever written a concerto for mandolin and orchestra, we cannot rule out this possibility. The lukewarm criticism also seems to indicate that this was not the work that Hummel dedicated to him in 1799. After Leipzig, Bortolazzi headed to

³³ Alfred DÖRFFEL, *Geschichte der Gewandhausconcerte zu Leipzig vom 25 November 1781 bis 25 November 1881*. Festschrift zur hundertjährige Jubelfeier der Einweihung des Concertsaales im Gewandhause zu Leipzig (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1884), p. 197.

Brunswick, where he performed on 15 November 1803. The *AMZ* review described the concert as simple but beautiful.³⁴ Bortolazzi's son, whose name the Leipzig review did not disclose, was probably Giacomo Giuseppe, who turned seven in March 1803. He played again in the concerts of 27 February and 16 April 1804 in Berlin,³⁵ and May 1805 in Vienna. The *AMZ* review of the Vienna concert praised the fluency, finesse, lightness, and delicacy of the Bortolazzi duo.³⁶

Like the Dresden performances, these reviewed appearances may have been followed by additional recitals at musical clubs and private houses. Concerts were also an excellent advertising tool, generating interest for the instrument and consequently increasing the sales of printed music and the number of students. Bortolazzi's publications in Bonn, Brunswick, Berlin, Leipzig, and Vienna made him somewhat famous as a composer for the mandolin and guitar. His next move was to embark on a more ambitious editorial project, the *Amusement Périodique pour la guitarre et violon*, sold by subscription or as individual numbers (see Figure 1). This music periodical ran from October 1804 to May 1805, as advertised in editions of 10 and 17 October 1804 of the *Wiener Zeitung*.³⁷



Figure 1. *Amusement Périodique pour la Guitarre*, vol. 8, cover page (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS106434-4^o/8)

³⁴ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 16 (18 January 1804), col. 265.

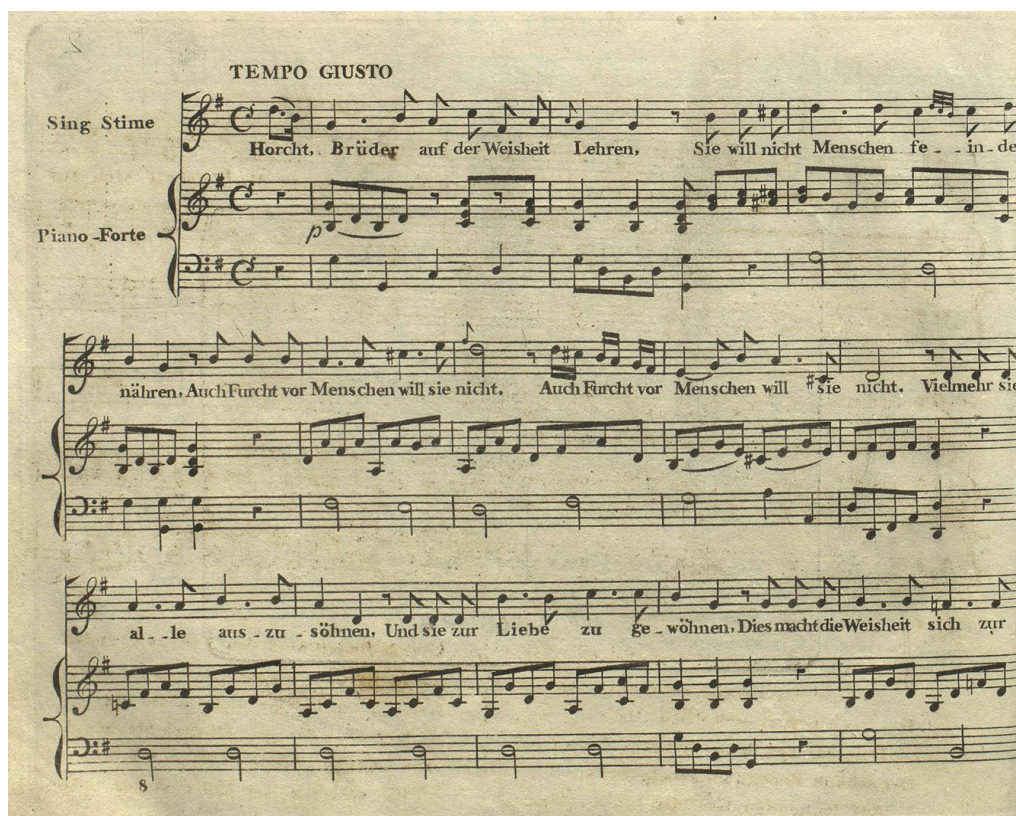
³⁵ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 26 (28 March 1804), col. 431-2; 29 (18 April 1804), col. 481; 32 (9 May 1804), col. 541.

³⁶ *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 31 (1 May 1805), col. 500.

³⁷ *Wiener Zeitung* (10 October 1804), p. 4157; *Wiener Zeitung* (17 October 1804), p. 4253.

However, there are reasons to believe that the *Amusement Periodique* was not an editorial success. Only two copies survive—of volumes 4 and 8—and the series failed to reach its goal of 14 issues. The publisher's advertisement of 22 May refers to the twelfth and last number of the series, and in 28 August 1805, the publisher announced the availability of the whole collection, sold either as a single volume or individual issues.³⁸

The Bortolazzis moved to London at some point between late 1805 and 1807, when Bartolomeo was mentioned as a member of the German-speaking Masonic Lodge *Der Pilger*, or Pilgrim's Lodge.³⁹ He composed a number of works for the lodge, a *Maurer Lied* and a *Gesellen Lied* in German (see Figure 2) and a *Cantata a l'Occasion de la Reception d'un Frère*, on a French text.



³⁸ *Wiener Zeitung* (22 May 1805), p. 2394; *Wiener Zeitung* (28 August 1805), p. 4049.

³⁹ '295 [...] Bartolozzi [...] Musiker [...] Affil. 25/11/1807'. Bortolazzi was the *Pilgerloge* brother no. 295, and his affiliation recorded on 25 November 1807. Although his name was written Bartolozzi, it is unlikely that the entry refers to the engraver Francesco Bartolozzi, then living in Lisbon, or his son Gaetano Stefano, then living in Paris, who was also an engraver, art dealer, amateur musician, and father of the well-known Madame Vestris (Elizabetta Lucia Bartolozzi). The Pilgrim lodge was consecrated in 1779 and during the early nineteenth century had among its members the conductor and impresario Peter Salomon (no. 43, 24 April 1782) and the violinist and conductor Paul Spagnoletti (no. 294, 27 May 1807). Karl BERGMANN, *Festgabe für die erste Säcular-Feier der Ger. u. voll. St. Joh.-Loge 'Der Pilger' no. 238* (London, Aug. Siegle, 1879), pp. 34, 44-5.

CHORUS

Pflicht. Dies macht die Weisheit sich zur Pflicht, Dies macht die Weisheit sich zur Pflicht. Dies macht die Weisheit sich zur Pflicht.

2

Sie lacht, des eingebild'ten Weisen,
So sehr ihn manche Schulen preisen,
Der jede Freude ängstlich flieht.
Dem auf der Reise dieses Lebens,
Der schöne Rosentrauch vergebens,
Auf lachenden Gefilden blüht. (Chorus)

3

Gleich Rosen sind des Lebens Freuden,
Sie welcken schnell und unsre Leiden,
Sind gleich den Dornen um sie her.
Wer ohne dass die Dornen stechen,
Des Lebens Freuden weis zu brechen,
Ein wahrer weiser Mann ist der. (Chorus)

Figure 2. BORTOLAZZI, *Gesellen Lied* (London, British Library, Music Collections, C.424.g.(2.))

2

Sonata. Chitarra. Del Sig^{ro} Carullo.

Figure 3. 'Sonata del Signore Carullo', *Amusement Periodique pour la Guitarre*, vol. 4, p. 2; (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS 106434-4^o/4)

a) Sonata Chitarra del Sig.re Carullo, *Amusement Périodique* 4, pp. 2-3.



b) Sonata Quasi Fantasia for the Spanish Guitar, *Periodical Amusements* 4, pp. 1-3.



//

a)



b)



Figure 4. Comparison between the first measures of ‘Sonata del Signore Carullo’ (see Figure 3) and ‘Sonata Quasi Fantasia’ *Periodical Amusements for the Spanish Guitar*, vol. 4, p. 1; (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus.pr. 2011.5967)

As a way of both making money and attracting new students, Bortolazzi ventured into the London music market. Repeating a strategy from his Vienna years, he launched a new version of his *Amusements*, apparently with more success.⁴⁰ For this new series, he mixed new works with new settings of pieces published in the Austrian version, in some cases changing the author’s name, in others heavily modifying the structure of the piece. For example, the initial motif of a piece attributed to a Signore Carullo (Ferdinando Carulli, see Figure 3) in the fourth number of the *Amusement Périodique* reappeared in the number four of the *Periodical Amusements* introducing a different composition, apparently composed by himself (see Figure 4).

Bortolazzi dedicated the collection to Princess Frederica of Prussia, the Duchess of York, an association that might have been the source of Fossati’s unreferenced comment that ‘the London Court called him to England, where he was nominated chamber virtuoso, with a daily stipend of two guinees’.⁴¹

⁴⁰ First number printed by Monzani & Hill; twelfth number printed by R. Juigné, 17 Margaret Street, Cavendish Square. There are copies at the British Library (no. 1, no. 4), and the Bavarian State Library (all issues except no. 4). The BSL collection includes issues from the first and second years, as there are two different sets for numbers 8 to 12.

⁴¹ FOSSATI, ‘Di alcuni artisti’ (see note 10).

As stated in the title page of his *XII Favorite Waltzes and Trios*, also dedicated to the Duchess of York, Bortolazzi performed at least once before King George and the Royal Family. In the twelfth number of his *Periodical Amusements* he provided another hint as to who were his supporters in London. This was the last issue of the first year, and he included a list of subscribers in the last page, promising to resume the publication in the following year. In addition to the Duchess of York, he listed the Princess Amelia, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Duke of Sussex. He also listed foreign aristocrats, such as the Prince of Starhemberg, Prince Esterházy, and Count Waldstein, who was then living in London and to whom he dedicated the three-part song 'To day' (see Figure 5).⁴²

1st Voice

2nd Voice

3rd Voice

Piano Forte

Andantino Moderato

f *p*

5

The Day we graft on yes - ter Day that Day we wrest from fate _____ then let's en - joy the

The Day we graft on yes - ter Day that Day we wrest from fate _____ then let's en - joy the

that Day we wrest from fate _____

⁴² The British Library copy has a watermark dated 1806. The list also included Paul Spagnoletti and other future brothers at the *Pilgerloge*, Alexander Costa (no. 297, 31 December 1807), Nicolao Francesco Marzano (no. 284, 3 January 1806), and Carl Traugott Vogel (no. 299, 27 April 1808).

11

Day to Day to morrow 'tis too late. Old yes - ter Day is lost and past, to

Day to Day to morrow 'tis too late. to

to morrow 'tis too late. Old yes-ter Day is lost and

8^{va} - - -

17

Day be - longs to me to morrow till the die be cast be - longs to no - bo - dy.

Day be - longs to me to morrow till the die be cast be - longs to no - bo - dy.

past, to Day be - longs to me be - longs to no - bo - dy. etc.

8^{va} - - - - -

Figure 5. *To Day*, a song for three voices, with an accompaniment for the Piano Forte composed and dedicated to Count Waldstein. By his most Humble Servant B. Bortolazzi. Ent.d at Stat.s Hall. Price 3s. Printed for the Author 13 Pulteney Street Golden Square (bb. 1-22)

The Day we graft from yester Day
 that Day we wrest from fate
 then let's enjoy the Day to Day
 tomorrow tis too late.
 Old yester Day is lost and past,
 to Day belongs to me
 tomorrow till the die be cast
 belongs to nobody.

The structure and subject of the song resonates with the repertory of gentlemen's singing associations and glee clubs from that period. Both Bortolazzi and Count Waldstein nurtured a *carpe diem* philosophy of life that lies at the very essence of the text. Whatever was the reason for this dedication and its ultimate uses, the song was prophetic of the next big change in Bortolazzi's life.

Changing airs

Claudio Fossati concluded his biography of Bortolazzi (*Bartolazzi*) with a tragic episode—the musician and his family vanished on a shipwreck while crossing the Atlantic.⁴³

Ma non sazio mai di onori, di lucri e di avventure, volle traversare l'Oceano, per correre, dicesi, sulle orme di una bella peccatrice coronata, di cui aveva sprezzato l'amore nei giorni delli splendidi trionfi di Dresda e che a lui tendeva pur sempre le sue braccia desiose. Ma, per naufragio, colla moglie e coll'unico figlio miseramente periva, verso il 1820, cinquantenne appena.

[Never tired of honor, gains, and adventure, he decided to cross the ocean to follow, it is said, in the footsteps of a beautiful crowned old flame, whose love he had despised during the days of his splendid triumph in Dresden, although he always yearned to have her in his arms. Yet, with the sinking of the ship, he perished miserably with his wife and only son around 1820, only fifty years of age.]

Years later, Fossati changed the date of the shipwreck, from 1820 to 1812, stating America as the ship's destination and providing a more precise information on Bortolazzi's (*Bertolazzi*) birthplace:⁴⁴

Durante il possesso dei Monaci, anzi alla vigilia del loro congedo, l'anno 1772, nacque in uno dei due folletti presso il Porto dei Frati, Bartolomeo Bertolazzi, divenuto famoso suonatore di violino, autore di opere musicali, avventuriero e galante, allegro e prodigo, noto in Germania, in Francia, in Inghilterra, morto a quarant'anni per naufragio colla famiglia, circa l'anno 1812, attraversando l'oceano per recarsi in America.

[During the administration of the monks, even on the eve of their departure in 1772, in one of the two small paper mills at the Friars Port, was born Bartolomeo Bertolazzi, who became a famous violinist, composer of musical works, adventurer and gallant, cheerful and prodigal, known in

⁴³ FOSSATI, 'Di alcuni artisti' (see note 10).

⁴⁴ Claudio FOSSATI, *La contrada della Religione o di Grecenico* (unpublished monograph, 11 June 1894) available at <<http://www.archividelgarda.it/uploads/Biblioteca/Monografie/La%20contrada%20della%20Religione,%20Fossati.pdf>>.

Germany, France, and England, died at the age of forty in a shipwreck with his family, around the year 1812, while crossing the ocean on his way to America.]

Continuing his father's research, Donato Fossati mixed up some data, by stating that Pietro Ferrari was a guitar player, not a singer, and that Margarita's family name was Lombardi, rather than Leonardi. Yet, Donato specified more precisely Bartolomeo's destination in the Americas, information maybe collected from his relatives, and suggested that the shipwreck story had its origin precisely in his sudden silence.⁴⁵

Bertolazza Bartolomeo (1772 - 1812)? [...] Trattò dalla sua mania per i viaggi e per le avventure, s'imbarcò per il Brasile e si ritiene che sia morto per naufragio, non essendosi più avuta alcuna notizia.

[*Bertolazza Bartolomeo (1772 - 1812)? [...] Nurturing his obsession for travel and adventure he embarked for Brazil and is believed to have died in a shipwreck, as there was no further news.*]

Valentini's 1894 entry on *Bertolazzi* is a literal transcription of Fossati's 1880 text.⁴⁶ He did acknowledge his source, but did not seem to have known Fossati's last text, where the shipwreck date was changed to 1812 and a destination point was provided. Since Valentini's book used to be more accessible than Fossati's newspaper articles, it became the source for most subsequent Italian texts on Bortolazzi. Bignami, for example, rewrote the texts by Claudio and Donato Fossati, adding the reference to Brazil and categorically affirming the year of the ship's sinking as 1820.⁴⁷

Ma per naufragio, con la moglie e con l'unico figlio, miseramente periva nell'anno 1820, mentre si recava in Brasile.

[But with the sinking of the ship, he perished miserably with his wife and only son in the year 1820, on his way to Brazil.]

The narrative of Bortolazzi's life and demise follows a well-known romantic cliché, highlighting the struggle between passion for adventure and the demands of a conservative society: the artist, his wife and musical prodigy son lived a happy and fulfilling life until an opportunity for adventure in an exotic land, somewhat linked with a past love affair, threatens to destroy domestic happiness; a shipwreck puts an end to his plans and ensures that the family ties would never be

⁴⁵ FOSSATI, *Benacum* (see note 31), p. 170.

⁴⁶ VALENTINI, *I Musicisti Bresciani* (see note 11), p. 116.

⁴⁷ BIGNAMI, *Enciclopedia* (see note 12), p. 55.

broken. Although the element of instability at the end of the ‘first act’ and, even more so, the *Deus ex machina* ending, follow theatrical conventions, the narrative also has an anecdotal quality that could have its origins in oral history. Fossati was born in 1823 and might have met some of Bortolazzi’s acquaintances and relatives. Likewise, the concluding act may have been corroborated by Bortolazzi’s lack of communication with his family and by shipwreck stories that circulated throughout the nineteenth century. Even so, the narrative has elements of truth when it refers to a trans-oceanic displacement and, maybe, a reunion with a former acquaintance.

Only there was no shipwreck. Or if there was one, Bartolomeo, his wife, two sons, and two daughters were not among the casualties.

On a note in the 14/15 June, 1844 issue of Rio de Janeiro’s *Jornal do Commercio*, Bortolazzi stated that he had been living in Brazil for 34 years and 8 months. This number, too precise to be dismissed, places his arrival in October or November of 1809. The Portuguese Court landed in Rio de Janeiro on March 1808, prompting the relocation of thousands of Europeans. For the best musicians, there were job opportunities at the Capela Real and the Teatro Régio. Others remained simply as private instructors. Valentini’s list of singers who performed at the Teatro Grande in Brescia in the first decade of the nineteenth century includes the names of Francesco Fasciotti, Teresa Fasciotti, Mariana Scaramelli, and Fabrizio Piacentini, artists who moved to Rio during the 1810s to work with the Italian Company at the newly opened Teatro São João.⁴⁸

Although most European musicians who settled in Brazil at that time came from Portugal and Italy, one singer that came from London, with a previous passage in Paris, was Carlotta D’Aunay.⁴⁹ She landed in Rio in October 1809, about the same time as Bortolazzi. Her first engagement there was at the Teatro Régio, where she performed with the Brazilian singer Joaquina Maria da Conceição Lapinha. D’Aunay remained active in Rio until at least 1814 and was mentioned by a later source as being originally from Poland.⁵⁰ She returned to Europe, performing in Madrid in 1818, on her way to Paris.⁵¹

Further research may clarify the exact motive, date, and place of Bortolazzi’s arrival in Brazil. Even so, it is very likely that he accompanied this influx of artists, aiming at a theatrical job in the former colony, now the seat of the Portuguese monarchy.

⁴⁸ VALENTINI, *I Musicisti Bresciani* (see note 11), p. 127-9.

⁴⁹ *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro* (11 October 1809).

⁵⁰ Her name was also spelled Donay, Daunay, and Donê.

⁵¹ London newspapers reveal that she performed in June 1808 at the Argyle Street Institution and the King’s Theatre. As of this writing, her whereabouts before 1808 are unknown. The January and February 1818 advertisements in the *Diario de Madrid* mention only London and Rio de Janeiro as cities where she had performed before. Around 1850, Manuel José de Meneses (Rio de Janeiro, Museu Histórico Nacional) affirmed that she was Polish (*a polaca Donê*). A Polish spelling of her name could be Donaj, but we cannot rule out a marriage with a French or British citizen. The political symbiosis between Saxony and Silesia is well known, but there is no evidence that she came from Dresden, Breslau (Wrocław), or any other central European city visited by Bortolazzi during his 1803-5 tour.

Family matters

In 1813, Bortolazzi (*Bartholomeo Bartolazi*) and his wife were living in São Paulo. On 7 June, they celebrated the wedding of their son, Braz, natural of the parish of Toscolano, bishopric of Brescia with Anna Lincete, of Florence, parish of San Martino, daughter of José Lincete and Thereza Lincete.⁵² Ten months after, on 9 April 1814, their grandson José was christened, having as godparents the Brigadier José Arouche de Toledo Rendon, and the single lady Dona Maria Benedicta, both residents of the upscale district of Santa Efigenia.⁵³ Among public figures in colonial Brazil becoming a *compadre* was a common practice to secure a political basis. Even so, it is surprising how fast these recently arrived immigrants were accepted into that socio-political structure. Although Bortolazzi's Masonic interests could have played a role in this unlikely relationship, a more practical reason could have been his involvement with theater, often sponsored by the politico-economic elites of colonial and imperial Brazil.

Bortolazzi left São Paulo in 1814 or 1815, probably accompanied by his older son, and stopped in Resende, at the foothills of the Serra da Mantiqueira, half way between São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. In that region, famous for its coffee, they acquired a small estate and two slaves from Mozambique, Ernesto and Ernestina.⁵⁴ His wife, children, and stepdaughter joined them in September 1815,⁵⁵ but their life as farmers did not last long. Cattarina passed away on 14 November.

⁵² '[f. 21v] Braz Bartolazi, e Dona Lincete, digo Anna Lincete | Aos sette de Junho de mil, oito, centos, e treze | annos, em caza de ridencia de Bartholo= | meo Bartolazi, as cinco horas da tarde, dis= | pensadas todas as diligencias do costume, | pelo Ecellentissimo, e Reverendissimo Sen= | hor Bispo, Dom Matheus de Abreu Pereira, | em prezença do Reverendissimo conego | Joaquim Jose Marianno, Juiz Interino | dos Casamentos, edas testemunhas abaixo | assignadas, o Reverendissimo Mestre de Cere | monias Manoel da Costa e Almeida e oRe | verendo André Joaquim da Silva, erece | beraõ em Matrimonio por palavras de | presente, Braz Bartolazi, natural da | Freguesia de Toscolano, Bispado de Brecha, | filho legitimo de Bartolomeo Bortolazi, | e de sua mulher Dona Catharina Leonar | da, e Dona Anna Lincete, natural de | Florença, Freguesia de Sam Martinho, | filha legitima de Jose Lincete, e de sua | mulher Dona Thereza Lincete e logo | lhe deo as Benções na forma do Ritual | Romano, doque faço este assento, que assigno Ho adjutor Joaõ Nepomuceno | Manoel da Costa e Almeida | André Joaq.m da S.a.'. *FamilySearch* (Brasil, São Paulo, Registros da Igreja Católica, 1640-2012) > Nossa Senhora da Assunção > Matrimônios Maio 1812 – Fev. 1833 > image 24 of 268; <familysearch.org> (accessed 19 February 2015).

⁵³ '[f. 87v] Jose | Aos nove de Abril de mil, outo, centos | equatorze annos, em casas de reziden | cia de Bartholomeo Bartolazi | o Reverendissimo Conego Joaquim | Jose Marianno de licença bapti= | zou, e pos os Santos Oleos á Jose filho | de Braz Bartolazi, e de sua mulher | Anna Lincete : foraõ padrinhos oBri= | gadeiro Jose Arouche de Tolledo Ren | don, e Dona digo cazado, e Dona Maria | Benedicta solteira, freguezs de Santa | Efigenia. Este assento foi lavrado | no dia trinta de Abril, pois neste dia | foi que me deraõ os nomes. Do que faço | este assento, e que assino | Hoadjutor Joaõ Nepomuceno.' *FamilySearch* (Brasil, São Paulo, Registros da Igreja Católica, 1640-2012) > Nossa Senhora da Assunção > Batismos Nov. 1811 – Abr. 1817 > image 95 of 263; <familysearch.org> (accessed 19 February 2015).

⁵⁴ Ernesto was appraised at 180 000 réis and Ernestina at 150 000 réis. The farm was sold for 1 600 000 réis on January 1, 1825. Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional, ZN Serie Inventários - Juízo de Órfãos e Ausentes ano 1821 maço 386 no 6860 gal B [Inventário de Catarina Bartholazzi], f. 8v.

⁵⁵ 'Portar.a a D. Catharina Bartholazi. Nas Fortalezas e Registos se deixe passar a D. Catharina Bartholazi seos filhos e Nora, João Baptista de Olivr.a que seguem desta cidade p.a a Corte do R.o de Janeiro. S.m Paulo 2 de 7br.o de 1815— Com a Rubrica de S. Ex.a'. *Documentos Interessantes para a História e Costumes de São Paulo*, vol. 89 (São Paulo, Departamento do Arquivo do Estado, 1967), p. 289.

Bortolazzi took years to file her inventory and when he finally did so, in late 1821, he stated that *Catherina Margarida Leonardi*,⁵⁶ had left four children: Braz, then a married man, the 16-year-old Thereza, the 14-year-old Carlota, and the 12-year-old Francisco Xavier. We know that these numbers reflect their ages in 1821 because in August 1825 Thereza, Carlota, and Francisco were listed as having less than 21 years old.⁵⁷ Moreover, Carlota's marriage record stated that she was christened at the Austrian Church in London, where the Bortolazzis lived between 1806 and 1809.⁵⁸ In order to be 14 years old in 1821, Carlota might have been born in 1807-8.⁵⁹ Further research should clarify the birthplace of Thereza (1805-6) and Francisco Xavier (1809-10).

Since it is unlikely that Francisco Xavier and Braz were christened with Portuguese names, the question of what happened to Bortolazzi's presumed first son Giacomo Giuseppe remains open. It could be that he declared Braz as the Portuguese name of his son when they arrived in Brazil. Or maybe there was a shipwreck after all, although this scenario would necessarily involve the birth of another son (Biagio?) in Toscolano between 1794 and 1799.

Considering the two main indicators of wealth in Colonial Brazil—ownership of slaves and real estate—Margarita's inventory unveils the possessions of a family on the lower end of the middle class (see Figure 6). As the farm, sold in 1826 for 1 600 000 réis, was not included in the partition, their most valuable 'belongings' were the two slaves Ernesto and Ernestina, corresponding to about 85% of the family's assets. Household items made up for about 15% of their valuables. This category comprised mostly furniture, but also included a 'small harpsichord', probably in bad shape, given the small value (4000 réis) at it was appraised.⁶⁰

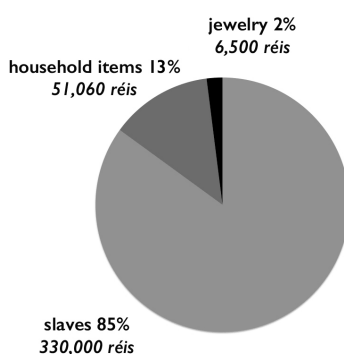


Figure 6. Allocation of assets in the inventory and partition of *Catarina Bartholazzi*

⁵⁶ [Inventário de Catarina Bartholazzi] (see note 54), f. 3. Her last name is written Bartholazzi at f. 3 and Leonardi at f. 14r.

⁵⁷ [Inventário de Catarina Bartholazzi] (see note 54), f. 41v.

⁵⁸ [Inventário de Bartholomeu Bartholazzi] (see note 2), f. 18-18v.

⁵⁹ If Bortolazzi had recorded her age in 1815, Carlota should have been born in 1801, when the family was living in Vienna.

⁶⁰ 'Hum Cravo pequeno quatro mil reis . . . 4\$000'; [Inventario de Catarina Bartholazzi] (see note 54), f. 11.

The family split up after Margarita's death. Braz joined the theatrical company of Maria Benedita Queirós Montenegro (likely the same Dona Maria Benedicta, *madrinha* of his son) at the *casa da ópera* of Porto Alegre, where he worked as an actor and musician. Very little is known about this woman, who used to be known simply as *Maria da casa da ópera*, and worked as manager and theatrical director in Porto Alegre intermittently during the 1790s to the 1820s.⁶¹ Braz continued his career as a theatrical actor after moving to Campos dos Goytacazes in the early 1820s. Provincial newspapers documented his performances in Campos and Barra Mansa during the 1830s and 40s.⁶²

From 1821 to 1824 Bartolomeo traveled often within the Province of Rio de Janeiro. In 1822 he was in Campos dos Goytacazes with Braz and Thereza, but in February 1823 he was in Rio de Janeiro. At this point he might have enrolled his son Francisco Xavier at the Imperial Collegio de S. Joaquim. In 1825, he sold the Resende farm and married the singer Candida Maria da Conceição in the nearby village of Santana do Pirai.⁶³ In August they were back in Rio, while Carlota remained in Resende and Thereza in Campos dos Goytacazes. Both married locally.

Still another beginning

From 1825 to 1832, Bortolazzi was again busy with publishing, performing, and teaching. In Rio, he worked as an actor (*comico*) and singer of the Real Teatro São Pedro de Alcantara. On 13 August 1825, the *Diário Fluminense* announced for the following day his first documented performance in Rio. He sang with his second wife in a concert with the members of the Companhia Nacional, at the Imperial Theatro São Pedro de Alcântara.

Domingo 14 do corrente.

A Companhia Nacional representará a nova comedia intitulada—O Pródigo. —Na qual Candida Maria, e Bartholomeu Bartholassi cantarão hum novo Duetto: No fim da Peça Estella Cezefreda, e sua irmã dançarão hum Duetto novo: e terminará o expectaculo com a graciosa farça—O Cinto Magico. —

⁶¹ Antonio Álvares Pereira CORUJA (1806-89) mentions Braz in the second part of his chronicle 'Antigualhas: As Ruas de Porto Alegre', *Anuario da Provincia do Rio Grande do Sul Para o Anno de 1889*, edited by Graciano A. de Azambuja (Porto Alegre, Gundlach, 1888), p. 94-103, at 97-8.

⁶² Before Coruja's 1880s chronicles, the last known mention of Braz Bortolazzi was from a person who placed an advertisement trying to contact him in 1844; *Jornal do Commercio* (11 June 1844).

⁶³ Information provided by the staff (Márcia, Paulo, and Silva) at the Arquivo da Cúria Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro, (e-mail message received on 20 May 2015, 11:14 AM).

[Sunday 14 of the current month.

The National Company [*Companhia Nacional*] will represent the new comedy entitled —The Prodigal Son [*O Pródigo*]. — In which Candida Maria, and Bartholomeu Bartholassi will sing a new duet. At the end of the play, Estella Cezefreda and her sister will dance a new duet, and the spectacle will end with a humorous farce —The Magic Belt [*O Cinto Mágico*]. —]

The theater's administrator, Manoel José da Fonseca, confirmed his engagement in 1826,⁶⁴ and between 1824 and 1826, the German traveler Schlichthorst saw Bortolazzi singing at the Teatro São Pedro, implicitly suggesting that he also sang at the Imperial Chapel.⁶⁵

Tomassini, Bartolazzi, Fasciotti, und mehrere andere Castraten, die ursprünglich für die kaiserliche Capelle bestimmt sind, singen auch hier.

[Tomassini, Bartolazzi, Fasciotti, and several other castrati, destined originally for the Imperial Chapel, also sing here.]

Meanwhile, Bortolazzi was trying to entice some students with ads placed in Rio's newspapers offering lessons of singing, guitar, and mandolin.⁶⁶ His efforts have paid off, as some years later he was tutoring one of the daughters of José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva.

Yet, his negligence brought him some problems. In 1824, Braz, Carlota, and Thereza sued him for not having finished the inventory and partition of her mother's estate. The issue was settled in Court on August 1825, but Bortolazzi was slow in complying with its terms. On 14 August 1826, Braz and his two brothers-in-law published an advertisement in the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* warning the cariocas against doing any business with Bartolomeo, largely reducing his ability to raise money, until the partition issue was definitely resolved. On October 1826, Bortolazzi sent Candida Maria to the Recolhimento da Santa Casa de Misericórdia, an institution for orphan girls and destitute women. This happened four months after Candida Maria's last known performance at the Theatro São Pedro.⁶⁷ As his family rightly interpreted this gesture as a sign that he intended to flee, they initiated another lawsuit, demanding the seizure of his assets.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional, EJ.0.ACI.0321 Casa da Suplicação, ano 1827—[Ação de sonogados—Bartholomeu Bartholazzi], f. 13, Declaration by Manuel José da Fonseca, 7 December 1826.

⁶⁵ Carl SCHLICHTHORST, *Rio de Janeiro wie es ist* (Hannover, Hahn, 1829), p. 152.

⁶⁶ Such as *O Spectador Brasileiro* (10 February 1826) and *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (24 May 1826).

⁶⁷ *O Spectador Brasileiro* (12 June 1826).

⁶⁸ [Ação de sonogados—Bartholomeu Bartholazzi] (see note 64), f. 17v.

Francisco Xavier graduated from the Imperial Collegio de São Joaquim in 1827.⁶⁹ Originally a clerical school with a curriculum centered on Latin, theology, philosophy, and chant, the Seminário de São Joaquim was the main option for the secondary education of the Carioca elite, although it also accepted destitute boys, who paid for their instruction through their work and the charity of outsiders. We do not know under which category Francisco Xavier enrolled, but he seems to have finished his Latin course with honors, having composed and recited an eulogy in Latin for the Emperor Dom Pedro I, who attended his examination. He graduated after passing an exam in philosophy, an achievement that fueled his ambition to continue his studies abroad. He even wrote a petition to the Emperor, pleading for a scholarship to study at the University of Paris (Medicine or Mathematics, as he said) as a way of ‘being useful to his sovereign, his motherland, and his disgraced father’. The answer was negative, and there is no evidence that he ever left Brazil.

On 22 December 1832, the 23-year-old Francisco Xavier complained about a ‘terrible illness’ that prevented him from fending for himself.⁷⁰ This was probably true—when Bartolomeo died, Carlota was identified as the only heir.⁷¹

One guitar, two mandolins

Given the number of advertisements posted by music publishers and dealers in German-language newspapers, Bortolazzi’s compositions and methods were relatively popular early in the nineteenth century. His growing status as a house artist at Breitkopf & Härtel prompted the Leipzig publishers to commission an engraving from Johann Gottfried Scheffner (see Figure 7), well known for his portraits of Beethoven, Woelfl, Salieri, Naumann, and Vogler for the same publisher. Scheffner based his engraving of Bortolazzi on a presumed lost⁷² work by miniature-portrait painter Joseph Kaltner.

This illustration is remarkable in many ways. Not to be missed is the earring, a likely statement of Bortolazzi’s adventurous lifestyle.⁷³ Likewise, the quantity and nature of decorative elements displayed here are unlike any other portrait that Scheffner did for Breitkopf & Härtel. And these were not stock ornaments. The six-string guitar resembles northern Italian instruments, particularly

⁶⁹ Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional, Manuscritos C-908, 11, 10 March 1827.

⁷⁰ *Correio Mercantil* (12 December 1832).

⁷¹ [Inventário de Bartholomeu Bartholazzi] (see note 2), f. 16r.

⁷² This could have been the silk portrait allegedly painted in Dresden and now in possession of the Fossati family, or even the portrait that adorned his snuffbox, appraised at 4000 réis (*1 Caixa d tartaruga com retrato p.a rape . . . 4#000*). [Inventário de Bartholomeu Bartholazzi] (see note 2), f. 12r.

⁷³ A common belief (or myth) in Europe and the Americas until the late nineteenth century was that soldiers, pirates, and adventurers used to wear gold earrings to pay for their own burial.

the ones Carlo Guadagnini was building in Turin around 1803. The cover illustration of the London *Periodical Amusements*, depicts with more detail a similar model of northern Italian guitar (see Figure 8).



Figure 7. Gottfried SCHEFFNER, Portrait of Bortolazzi, after original artwork by Joseph Kaltner (Paris, Bibiothèque Nationale, Richelieu, Musique magasin, Est Bortolazzi 001)



Figure 8. *Periodical Amusements for the Spanish Guitar* (London, n.p., ca. 1807). Detail of cover engraving (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 4 Mus.pr. 2011.5967)

Bortolazzi's early career coincided with the demise of the five-course guitar and the spectacular rise of the six-string guitar. With single strings, thicker bourdons, and a linear tuning without reentrant strings or octave courses, this new type of guitar became extremely popular as an accompanying instrument, as even inexperienced players were able to deliver chords, Alberti-bass lines, and a variety of arpeggio formulas. But the instrument could do much more than that. An average virtuoso could perform transcriptions of piano and violin music and fantasias on operatic passages, in addition to virtuosic and idiomatic études. And in a short period of time, a group of performers who were also competent composers and arrangers, helped to create an immense repertory for the six-string guitar. Guitar periodicals were launched, clubs were founded, and both aristocrats and bourgeois were eager to learn the instrument. This was the *Guitaromanie*, a cultural phenomenon that ran from the 1790s to the 1830s, particularly in Vienna and Paris. Bortolazzi participated actively in the first phase of this guitar craze—his guitar method reappeared in at least seven editions. Not only did he navigate the *Guitaromanie*, but he also tried to replicate it on the mandolin, with his concerts and publications.

His first instrument was the Cremonese mandolin, which had undergone a transformation analogous to that of the guitar, from double courses to single strings. The mandolins in Scheffner's portrait and in the cover of Bortolazzi's *Anweisung* are clearly Cremonese (also known as Brescian) models, with four single strings and a distinctive scroll-shaped pegbox (see Figure 9).



Figure 9. Cremonese mandolin. BORTOLAZZI, *Anweisung die Mandoline von selbst zu erlernen*, (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, c1805), cover engraving

The positive comments by Fétis about Bortolazzi's expressive tone probably allude to his choice of instrument, which, unlike the Neapolitan model, was equipped with gut strings.⁷⁴

Au lieu du son grêle et sec qu'on en avait tiré jusqu'à lui, il sut lui en faire produire de diverses nuances qui donnaient à son jeu un charme d'expression dont n'aurait pas cru susceptible un instrument si petit et si borné.

[Instead of the feeble and dry sound that used to be obtained [from this instrument] up to him, he knew how to produce a variety of nuances that gave to his playing a charming expression that one would not believe possible in such a small and limited instrument.]

Bortolazzi himself explained how important he regarded the instrument's tone to be.⁷⁵

Zwar giebt es auch Mandolinen von 6, 8, und mehreren Saiten, (sie heissen auch Mandola, Mandora). Jene von 6 Saiten, sind die Mailändischen und Turiner; diese mit 8 Saiten versehen, die Neapolitanischen; allein da sie theils unbequemer sind, theils auch einer zu harten, zithertigen Ton haben, so bleiben wir hier um so eher bei der, neuerlich erfunden, mit Vier Saiten bezogenen Mandoline—der Cremonesischen oder Brescianischen—stehen, da sie theils bequemer, theils auch von weicherem, gesangvollerem Ton ist.

[However, there are also mandolins of 6, 8, and more strings, (they are also called Mandola and Mandora). Those of 6 strings are the Milanese or Turinese; the ones provided with 8 strings, the Neapolitan. Partly because they are uncomfortable to play, partly because they have a too hard, cittern-like tone, we will concentrate here on a related, newly invented, mandolin of four strings—the Cremonese or Brescian—partly because it is more comfortable to play, partly because it has a softer, more singing tone.]

Different models of mandolin became popular in different places across central and northern Europe, thanks to their cultural and commercial ties with various regions of Italy and the success of some traveling virtuosos. In Portugal, for instance, the Neapolitan mandolin was used in the accompaniment of *modinhas* during the 1790s.⁷⁶ Conversely, the Cremonese mandolin, tuned just

⁷⁴ François-Joseph FÉTIS, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, vol. 2 (Bruxelles, Meline, Cans & Compagnie, 1837), p. 279.

⁷⁵ Bartolomeo BORTOLAZZI, *Anweisung die Mandoline von selbst zu erlernen, nebst Übungsstücken* (Leipzig, Breitkopf und Härtel, c.1805), p. 3, at footnote.

⁷⁶ On February 1793, the *Gazeta de Lisboa* announced a sonata for the mandolin (*bandolim*) by João da Matta de Freitas; see Joaquim de VASCONCELLOS, *Os Músicos Portuguezes*, vol. 1 (Oporto, Imprensa Portuguesa, 1870), p. 111. See also David CRANMER'S introductory study and edition of David PEREZ, *Variazioni per mandolino* (Lisbon, Colibri, 2011).

like the Neapolitan model, was somewhat popular in early-nineteenth century Vienna, but virtually unknown outside Austria and northern Italy.

At about the same time, interest for the mandolin in Brazil was practically nonexistent. In an attempt to promote the instrument, Bortolazzi targeted specific demographics: upper-class ladies. In 1826, he informed the readers of the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* that he was offering lessons of ‘singing, playing the *viola francesa* [guitar], as well as the Portuguese [guitar] and the mandolin, an elegant instrument for the ladies’.⁷⁷ He continued to announce his services as a mandolin instructor until at least 1831, but his last known advertisement, published in 1844, only mentioned singing and guitar—then spelled *violão*—followed by a generic *et cetera*.⁷⁸ In terms of patronage, Bortolazzi did not find individuals who were worthy of a front-page dedication, as he often did in Europe, resorting instead to more generic choices, such as ‘to the Brazilian fair sex’, ‘to the illustrious representatives of the Brazilian Nation’, and ‘to the memorable facts of 7 April’. Moreover, he did not publish anything for the mandolin while in Brazil, and used the guitar only as an alternative accompaniment in some of his publications.

Three musical instruments were listed in Bortolazzi’s inventory, one guitar and two mandolins. A guitar with its respective case was appraised at 12 000 réis, a fair value for a fine instrument, but this piece of information is not enough to identify its origin.⁷⁹ The mandolins were appraised at a considerably lower value, one at 3000 réis and the other, an ‘old mandolin’, at 1000 réis. At least one of them, probably the cheapest one, must have been a Brescian model, Bortolazzi’s instrument of choice.⁸⁰

Music printing and politics

The years 1827 to 1832 were particularly eventful for Bortolazzi in terms of music publishing. The first pieces he announced for sale, on 10 January 1827, was a ‘Theme with six variations for the flute with accompaniment *ad libitum* for the piano forte or guitar’,⁸¹ followed by three *modinhas brasileiras* with accompaniment for the piano forte, sold by the French bookseller J. Crémère.⁸²

⁷⁷ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (26 May 1826).

⁷⁸ *O Pharol Constitucional* (16 August 1844).

⁷⁹ So-called ordinary guitars were sold at prices ranging from 600 to 3000 réis. For comparative purposes, see Paulo CASTAGNA, Maria José Ferro de SOUZA, and Maria Teresa Gonçalves PEREIRA, ‘Domingos Ferreira: Um violeiro português em Vila Rica’, in *As músicas luso-brasileiras no final do antigo regime: Repertórios, práticas e representações*, edited by Maria Elisabeth Lucas and Rui Vieira Nery (Lisbon, Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda and Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2012), pp. 667-704.

⁸⁰ In 1899, Ernesto Vieira described the Neapolitan model as ‘the most common and most perfect’ of all mandolins. He also mentioned that ‘there are also those with only four single strings; these are the more ordinary ones’. Ernesto VIEIRA, *Dicionário Musical* (Lisbon, Lalléman, 1899), p. 85.

⁸¹ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (10 January 1827).

⁸² *Diário Mercantil* (26, 27 October 1827).

Although these could have been printed scores, we cannot rule out the possibility of manuscript copies, as Crémère was also facilitating the ‘copy of any sort of music with the utmost accuracy and the most reasonable prices’.⁸³

In the 1820s, musical printing was in its infancy in Brazil. The Englishmen John Ferguson and Charles Crockatt, importers of music and musical instruments since at least 1821,⁸⁴ started commissioning printed music from local suppliers around late 1824. The first work they produced was the ‘Hymno Imperial e Constitucional’, composed by emperor Dom Pedro I, as announced by the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* on 10 December 1824.⁸⁵ In the following years and until going bankrupt on October 1831, Ferguson and Crockatt commissioned the printing of other works, including a *Collecção de doze modinhas modernas para piano forte*,⁸⁶ a *Colecção de Walsas*, and a ‘Hymno Marcial Brasileiro’.⁸⁷ Bortolazzi also worked with Ferguson and Crockatt, having some of his compositions sold through their store in 1831. However, he preferred to deal directly with printers and newspapers.

On 18 July 1830, Bortolazzi posted an advertisement in the *Patriota Brasileiro*,⁸⁸ announcing his intention to revive the *Periodical Amusement*. The series was announced with the title *Variedades de Música*, or *Divertimento Periódico Mensal*. A week after, he placed another ad in the *Jornal do Commercio*.⁸⁹ To date I have not found any evidence that this series was ever launched.

In 7 April 1831, Brazilians were shocked and relieved at the abdication of Dom Pedro I in favor of his son Pedro de Alcântara. The emperor had become an authoritarian ruler, persecuting his critics, and avoiding any constitutional compromise. Military defeats and political assassinations seriously damaged his image. Lacking popular support and no longer backed by his army, he decided to return to Portugal. Throughout the country, the *Sete de Abril* was celebrated as a new beginning—after all, D. Pedro I was still Portuguese, but his son had been born in Brazilian soil. However, since the future emperor Dom Pedro II was only five, a provisional government had to be arranged.

The good thing for Bortolazzi was that he had friends in the newly restructured upper circles of power. Soon after hearing the news about the *Sete de Abril* he wrote two pieces commemorating the event, a waltz for piano ‘A Regeneração do Brasil’ and a four-voice ‘Hymno Patriótico’, with text

⁸³ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (12 September 1827).

⁸⁴ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (2 July 1821).

⁸⁵ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (10 December 1824).

⁸⁶ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (19 April 1825).

⁸⁷ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (21 January 1825).

⁸⁸ This was not the *Patriota Brasileiro* printed in Paris by the Livraria dos Estrangeiros. Its first number, the only one ever issued, does not contain the announcement.

⁸⁹ *Jornal do Commercio* (26 July 1830). See the appendix 2 for a transcription.

by the journalist and politician Odorico Mendes, a ferocious opponent of the emperor and an influential figure in the Regency. Bortolazzi then commissioned lithograph prints from the *Officina do Archivo Militar*, for which purpose he invested the substantial amount of 45 000 réis.⁹⁰ The *valsa* was so successful that on late July he was already selling a second edition. Bortolazzi himself must have placed the advertisements in the 16 June and 26 July issues of the *Correio Mercantil*, which list the names and addresses of the most important music dealers in Rio on that year, in addition to his own address, in case any prospective student decided to drop by.⁹¹ Bortolazzi found a friend in Antonio Borges da Fonseca, editor of the liberal newspaper *O Repúblico*, who in June 18 published a note praising the waltz, not so much for its musical qualities (although he does mention an unproven connection with Haydn), but for what it represented.⁹²

Pergunta-se ao Sr. Jozé Maria, professor de muzica e piano, qual o defeito qe axa na excelente valsa composta por Sr. Bartholazzi, e dedicada aos fatos do memoravel dia 7 de abril, qe lhe não merecem acolhimento algum, a pezar das instancias de seus dicipulos? É forte rancor do Sr. Jozé Maria! Nós lhe rogamos por seu proprio bem star qe sufoqe seu umor ante-Brazileiro, e fassa tocar a seus dicipulos àqela pessa nobilissima, qe muito lhes agrada, e qe é compozissão de um dicipulo do grande Hayden. Tambem dezejamos qe, com a pronta extrassão d'aque[la] pessa provemos nós, aos Srs. Jozés Marias (qe são muitos), qe os Brasileiros prezam sobre maneira tudo qe tendo a tornar eterno o sempre memoravel dia 7 de abril: dia terrivel para os Srs. Jozés Marias.

[One should ask Sr. Jozé Maria, professor of music and piano, what is the defect that he finds in the excellent waltz composed by Sr. Bartholazzi, and dedicated to the events of the memorable seventh of April, of which he does not show any appreciation, in spite of the admonitions of his disciples? Sr. Jozé Maria shows strong resentment! We plead with him, for his own good, to suppress his anti-Brazilian humor and lets his disciples play that most noble piece, which pleases them very much, and is a composition of a disciple of the great Haydn. We also wish that, with the immediate extraction [performance?] of that piece we prove to the Srs. Jozés Marias (which are many), that the Brazilians cherish exceedingly everything that renders eternal the always memorable seventh of April: a terrible day for the Srs. Jozés Marias.]

Within the political spectrum of the period, Borges da Fonseca sides at first with the *liberais exaltados*, but after the abdication, gravitated more towards the *liberais moderados*. He was the main ideologue behind the May 1831 creation of the *Sociedade Defensora da Liberdade e*

⁹⁰ Orlando da Costa FERREIRA, *Imagem e Letra: Introdução à bibliologia brasileira, a imagem gravada* (São Paulo, Melhoramentos, 1976), p. 157. The author did not disclose the source for this statement.

⁹¹ *Correio Mercantil* (16 June, 26 July 1831). See the appendix 2 for a transcription.

⁹² *O Repúblico* (18 June 1831).

Independência Nacional in Rio de Janeiro, having Odorico Mendes as its president and aimed at supporting the regime and promoting the so-called ‘regeneration of Brazil’.⁹³ The far-reaching activities of this society even included balls,⁹⁴ appropriate occasions for Bortolazzi’s waltz, in addition to the bourgeois parlors and aristocratic salons. *Exaltados* and *moderados* had as a common enemy the *caramurus*, conservative restorationists who wanted the return of Dom Pedro I. This group included many Portuguese-born citizens who still enjoyed commercial privileges and held key administrative positions.⁹⁵ Writing in his peculiar style that privileged the spoken language over grammatical rules, Borges da Fonseca used Bortolazzi’s *valsa* as a pretext to foment rivalry between Portuguese-born and Brazilian citizens. Liking or disliking this piece ultimately meant being a patriot or not. By all accounts, the repercussion of this work marked the beginning of Bortolazzi’s connection with the *moderados*. But it also exposed an important liability—he was not a Brazilian citizen.

This would change a few months later. On 31 October 1831, Bortolazzi received the official notice of his naturalization as a Brazilian citizen. The decree was signed by José Lino Coutinho,⁹⁶ with whom Bortolazzi already had a musical connection, as explained in the 20 October issue of the *Correio Mercantil*.⁹⁷ In the following months, Bortolazzi published two other *modinhas* on Coutinho’s texts. The advertisements he posted in 9 November and 3 January also mention the title ‘O Girassol’ [The Sunflower], for a *modinha* ‘in imitation of a cavatina’, a hint for a possible text identification.⁹⁸

Regrettably, none of these compositions has been located. The music holdings at the Biblioteca Nacional—Divisão de Música e Arquivo Sonoro, the largest music library in Brazil, do include some early printed music from the Officina do Arquivo Militar, but the earliest one is from 1833.⁹⁹ Up to this writing the only piece identified in Brazilian archives and libraries as been composed by Bortolazzi is a ‘Valse’, included in an untitled collection of guitar music at the Music Library of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (see Figure 10).¹⁰⁰

⁹³ Jeffrey D. NEEDELL, *The Party of Order: The Conservative, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy 1831-1871* (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006), p. 46. Marcello MASILE, ‘Sociabilidade e ação políticas na Corte regencial: A Sociedade Defensora da Liberdade e Independência Nacional’, *Dimensões*, 18 (2006), pp. 349-83.

⁹⁴ Lino de Almeida CARDOSO, *O Som social: Música, poder e sociedade no Brasil; Rio de Janeiro, séculos XVIII e XIX* (São Paulo, the author, 2011), p. 445.

⁹⁵ The paranoia only faded away after the death of Dom Pedro in 1834. By then the Society had already transformed itself into another force in the perpetuation of the status quo of economic and political elites.

⁹⁶ *Colecção das Leis do Império do Brasil de 1831*, Primeira Parte (Rio de Janeiro, Typographia Nacional, 1875), p. 174.

⁹⁷ *Correio Mercantil* (20 October 1831). See the appendix 2 for a transcription.

⁹⁸ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (9 November 1831, 3 January 1832, 8 August, 1832), *Correio Mercantil*, (2 August 1832).

⁹⁹ Announced in the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (16 September 1833). See Mercedes Reis PEQUENO, ‘Impressão musical no Brasil’, in *Enciclopédia da Música Brasileira*, Erudita, Folclórica, Popular, vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro, ART Editora, 1977), pp. 352-63.

¹⁰⁰ Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Alberto Nepomuceno, Escola de Música da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Folder GUI-1, book 17, f. 10v [*Valse de Bortolazzi*], not yet available. A slightly longer version of the same piece is ascribed to Fortunato di Napoli in a later guitar compilation from the island of Madeira (private collection of Manuel Moraes). The name Fortunato di Napoli also appears at the BAN-UFRJ collection, which is partly from Madeira.



Figure 10. BORTOLAZZI, *Valse* (Rio de Janeiro, BAN-UFRJ, untitled MSS, GUI-1, book 17, f. 10v)

Freemason and presumed carbonaro

On 30 March 1818, Dom João VI outlawed the secret societies from his domains, after crushing the 1817 revolutions in Pernambuco and Portugal, allegedly organized by freemasons.¹⁰¹ After 1821, the ruling prince of Brazil, Dom Pedro, relaxed the suspension and allowed the freemasons and

¹⁰¹ *Collecção da Legislação Portuguesa [...] 1811 a 1820* (Lisbon, Typographia Maigrense, 1825), pp. 619-20. For the Masonry influence on Brazilian politics during the first decades of the nineteenth century, see Alexandre Mansur BARATA, *Maçonaria, sociabilidade ilustrada e independência do Brasil – 1790-1822* (São Paulo, Annablume, 1996) and his 'Nos traços do esquadro e do compasso: A sociabilidade maçônica no mundo luso-brasileiro' (1790 –1822), in *Anais do XXII Simpósio Nacional de História* (João Pessoa, ANPUH, 2003) available at <<http://anpuh.org/anais/?p=14602>>. See also David Gueiros VIEIRA, *O Protestantismo, a Maçonaria, e a questão religiosa no Brasil* (Brasília, Editora da Universidade de Brasília, 1980). Essential for any study on the subject are the otherwise strongly biased volumes by Kurt PROBER (pseud. Isa CH'AN), *Achegas para a História da Maçonaria no Brasil – 1a. Parte: Maçonaria Heroica* (São Paulo, the author, 1968); *2a. Parte: Maçonaria Política* (São Paulo, the author, 1969).

other gentlemen's clubs to regroup, although without officially lifting the ban.¹⁰² But he never stopped worrying about radical infiltrations, particularly after the 1821 uprisings in Italy, in which the carbonari played a decisive role. One of the consequences was that in the same year Pope Pius VI issued the bull *Ecclesiam a Jesu Christo*, excommunicating carbonari and freemasons. Even before the independence, Dom Pedro was already using the word *carbonário* as a metonymy for any secret organization inspired by liberal ideals. These included the so-called red freemasons, headed by Joaquim Gonçalves Ledo. Part of the duties of the Minister of Interior and Foreign Affairs, José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, was to manage the emperor's paranoia, making sure the ideas of *carbonários* and *anarquistas* would not take hold in Brazil, and that his own secret society would be the only one allowed.¹⁰³ His scrapbook reveals his communication with law enforcement officers in the provinces, instructed to send him information about seditious movements. On December 1822, after receiving suspicious news from Campos dos Goytacazes, he wrote a memo to his informant.¹⁰⁴

N.º 94—Constando a Sua Magestade o Imperador que na Villa de Salvador dos Campos existe hũ Italiano, por apellido Bertolazzi, denunciado por Carbonario e desorganizador da Ordem Publica, o qual dizem ter alliciado, e chamado a si outros individuos, que principiando por illudidos, podem acabar por facciosos, formando Clubs secretos, com fins sinistros e abominaveis: Manda o Mesmo Augusto Senhor pela Secretaria de Estado dos Negocios do Imperio que o Juiz de For a da sobredita Villa empregue a mais rigorosa vigilancia sobre o comportamento do mencionado Italiano, fazendo observar os seus passos e relações, como for mais conveniente, e dando de tudo conta pela mesma Secretaria de Estado, a fim de se proceder a esse respeito como se exige a tranquillidade publica. Palacio do Rio de Janeiro em 4 de Dezembro de 1822. = *Jozé Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva*.

¹⁰² See note 101. Although Dom Pedro I did face insurrections during his nine years as emperor of Brazil, some of his headaches came from two of his advisers, key figures in the independence movement and top-level freemasons: José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva and Joaquim Gonçalves Ledo. Not only did they have quite different political goals, but their ideas often conflicted with the emperor's despotic style. Andrada e Silva was the Grand Master and Ledo the *de facto* leader of the recently established *Grande Oriente do Brasil*. And both were members of Andrada's own secret society, the *Apostolado*, also known as the Noble Order of the Knights of the Holy Cross, allegedly influenced by the *carbonari* in its organization but not at all in its goals. In the months that preceded the independence, Dom Pedro became a member of the *Apostolado* and the G.O.B., both at the highest level (respectively King Archon and Grand Master). The obvious goal of Andrada and Ledo was to subdue the emperor's absolutist aims by placing him under the guidance of a set of politico-philosophical principles, thus limiting his power and assuring the perpetuation of their own groups. This strategy backfired. Two months after becoming Grand Master, Dom Pedro suspended the activities of the G.O.B., arresting many of its leaders and sending Ledo into exile in Buenos Aires. The lodges only resumed their work after the emperor's abdication in 1831. By mid-1823, Dom Pedro closed the *Apostolado* and banished José Bonifácio to exile in France.

¹⁰³ Andrada e Silva's suspicion against secret societies are evident in the discussions related to the lifting of the 1818 ban during the sessions of the Constituent Assembly from May to September 1823. *Diário da Assembleia Geral, Constituinte, e Legislativa do Imperio do Brasil—1823* (Rio de Janeiro, Imprensa Nacional, 1823).

¹⁰⁴ 'Registo do Gabinete de José Bonifacio de Andrada e Silva', in *Publicações do Archivo Nacional*, 18 (Rio de Janeiro, Archivo Nacional, 1918), pp. 100-1.

[No 94—His Majesty the Emperor knowing that in the Town of Salvador dos Campos there is an Italian, named Bertolazzi, denounced as a carbonaro and agitator of the public order, who is said to have enticed and called upon other individuals, who, after being deceived, may become seditious, forming secret clubs with sinister and abominable goals: the Same August Lord, through the Secretary of State of the Empire Affairs, orders the Judge [*Juiz de Fora*] of the above-mentioned Town to deploy the most rigorous vigilance over the behavior of the mentioned Italian, observing his steps and relationships in the manner he regards the most adequate, and to report everything to the said Secretary of State, proceeding as public tranquility demands. Palace of Rio de Janeiro on the 4th of December of 1822. = *Jozé Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva*.]

As the investigation continued, a few months later the judge revealed that Bortolazzi had left town and was allegedly in Rio. He also added a new individual to the watching list.¹⁰⁵

N.o 118 [...] Quanto porem á Jozé [p. 114] Estevão Grondona, que em Officio daquella 1.a data o dito Commandante participa se lhe fizera suspeito, por lhe constar que se empregava em alliciar gente para a Seita dos Carbonarios, como praticava hû certo Bartolazzi, de quem não lançara mão, por ter sahido dalli para esta Corte; Sua Magestade Imperial ordena que o mesmo Commandante informe qual tem sido o resultado de suas averiguações de accordo com o Juiz de Fora da dita Villa, sobre os passos, relações, e correspondências do mencionado Grondona. Palacio do Rio de Janeiro em 26 de Fevereiro de 1823. = *Jozé Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva*.

[No. 118 [...] With regard to Jozé Estevão Grondona, about whom, in a memo from that date the said Commander revealed his suspicion, on grounds that he was known for enticing people to the sect of the carbonari, as a certain Bartolazzi used to do, whom he was unable to detain because he left for the Court; His Imperial Majesty orders the same Commander to inform him of the result of his investigations according to the Judge of the abovementioned village, about the steps, relations, and correspondence of the said Grondona. Palace of Rio de Janeiro on the 26th of February of 1823. = *Jozé Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva*.]

Although Bartolomeo, Braz, and Francisco Xavier Bortolazzi were all living in Campos in 1822, these memos refer to the father, a freemason since at least 1807. They also suggest a connection between him and the Ligurian adventurer Giuseppe Stefano Grondona—both were proselytizing for the ‘sect of the carbonari’—but the memos do not reveal if they were acting autonomously or if there was a structured cell in town.¹⁰⁶ Grondona arrived in Rio in 1818. He

¹⁰⁵ ‘Registo do Gabinete de José Bonifácio’ (see note 104), pp. 113-4.

¹⁰⁶ The first recorded Masonic lodges in Campos—União (G.O.B. 11) and Triumpho da Virtude (G.O.B. 91)—were registered in 1830 and 1848 respectively. PROBER, *Maçonaria Política* (see note 101), p. [148].

brought with himself some antique paintings to sell, made some friends, and ended up being appointed art restorer and curator at the Royal Museum. In 1820 he was also designated vice-consul of the kingdom of Sardinia. For several reasons, he did not keep these jobs for very long; instead, with the money he still had from selling his paintings to the Royal Museum, he bought a coffee farm and some slaves.¹⁰⁷ Around 1823, he opened a newspaper and became notorious for his incendiary articles criticizing Dom Pedro and the Constituent Assembly. As expected, he was expelled from the country later that year, but still managed to publish in Buenos Aires the last issue of his newspaper *Sentinela da Liberdade à Beira Mar na Praia Grande*.

In July 1823, Dom Pedro closed the Constituent Assembly and fired Andrada e Silva, who went into exile in France. He returned in 1829 and soon reconciled with the Emperor. In 1831, after Dom Pedro's abdication and return to Portugal, José Bonifácio was appointed tutor of the 9-year-old future emperor. Fearing the return of political persecution, his foes relentlessly criticized his actions as tutor and administrator of the Imperial House. On 12 April 1832, the opposition newspaper *O Brasileiro* disgruntledly reported Andrada's abuse of his prerogatives.

A Lei da Tutoria concede ao Tutor de S. M. I. 4:800\$000 de ordenado; e parque? Para as despesas de seje, casa, etc.: como então o Sr. José Bonifacio serve-se das seges Imperiaes com um escandalo inaudito? Há dias vimos um celebre Bartholasi em uma sege da casa, e dicerão nos que, como mestre de uma filha do Sr. José Bonifacio, gosava desse indulto.

[The Tutorship Law provides the Tutor of H. I. M. 4 600 000 *réis* of salary; and for what? For the expenses of carriage, house, etc.: how, therefore, does Sr. José Bonifácio makes use of the Imperial carriages with an unheard-of scandal? Some days ago we saw the famous Bartholasi in a carriage of the [Imperial] house, and we were told that, as the master of a daughter of Sr. José Bonifacio, he enjoyed such privilege.]

Tutoring the daughter of José Bonifácio was the farthest Bortolazzi had ever advanced as an educator. His relationship with the 'patron of the independence' may have also involved a change of political orientation, from regency supporter to restorationist. However, other sources suggest that it was Bortolazzi who was influencing Bonifácio, and not the other way round. On 12 May 1832, the newspaper *A Verdade* published an article criticizing Andrada's seemingly exorbitant expenses in the administration of the Imperial House. The text closes with a reference to Bortolazzi, calling him

¹⁰⁷ Isabel LUSTOSA, *Insultos impressos: A guerra dos jornalistas na Independência 1821-1823* (São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2000), pp. 370-87. About the destination of the paintings and Grondona's attempted naturalization, see *Annaes do Parlamento Brasileiro – Camara dos Srs. Deputados, Sessão de 1835*, vol. 2 (Rio de Janeiro, Typographia de Viuva Pinto & Filho), p. 280.

a carbonaro and listing his name along with three well-known restorationists associated with Andrada e Silva.¹⁰⁸

[...] não cuide Vm. que são os Piores do Carmo, dizem que erão o Carbonario Bartolazi, Bolow, Mequilina, e Porto Seguro; eu não creio, mas vou dizendo.

[...] be aware that they are Carmelite Priors, it is said that they are the Carbonario Bartolazi, Bolow, Mequilina, and Porto Seguro; I don't believe it, but will keep saying it.]

José de Oliveira Porto Seguro was a police sergeant, known for his ruthless persecution of Andrada's opponents. Historians often mention him and a certain Miquelina, also known as Marciano, among Andrada's 'spies and hooligans'.¹⁰⁹ As for the Prussian mercenary 'Baron' von Bulow, who was not actually a Baron, he was the main figure in the notorious armed insurrection of 17 April 1831. From the beginning, José Bonifácio was blamed as one of the organizers of the failed coup, but his participation was only proven in 1833, costing him his job and sending him to prison. On 24 May 1832, *A Verdade* published another cryptic note about Bortolazzi: 'Sr. José Bonifacio is carbonizing himself: Bartolasi is the chemist'.¹¹⁰ While the note does suggest Bortolazzi's influence on Andrada, identifying the nature of such influence is a much more complicated task. Since the previous decade, Rio's political press used the term *carbonário* as a code word for agitator with violent, incendiary methods. Thus, in 1823 Bortolazzi could be called a carbonaro for being a republican, and in 1832 for being a monarchic restorationist. On the other hand, metaphorically speaking, José Bonifácio was getting burned—carbonized—by Rio's press, and Bortolazzi played a role by using an Imperial carriage, apparently without a legitimate reason. Finally, but not so convincingly, the aphorism may refer to a possible influence of Bortolazzi in Andrada's reorganization of Masonry in Rio at the time, by following the so-called carbonaro rite.¹¹¹

By 1832, José Bonifácio reopened the Grande Oriente do Brasil and elected himself Grand Master. By then, Bortolazzi was already a member of the lodge 'Perfeita Amizade', which

¹⁰⁸ *A Verdade* (12 May 1832), p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Alexandre José MELLO MORAES, *A Independência e o Império do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, Globo, 1877), pp. 102, 105, 115, 133.

¹¹⁰ 'MISCELLANEA. [...] O Sr. José Bonifacio esta-se carbonisando: Bartolasi é o Quimico'. *A Verdade* (24 May 1832), p. 3.

¹¹¹ For a French account of the structure and constitution of the carbonari see M. SAINT-EDME, *Constitution et Organisation des Carbonari* (Paris, Brissot, 1822). For an early history, particularly in Italy and Austria, see Thomas FROST, *The Secret Societies of the European Revolution 1776-1876*, vol. 1 (London, Tinsley Brothers, 1876), pp. 209-66. For the so-called 'forest' or carbonaro masons, see Francesco MASTROBERTI, *Pierre Joseph Briot: Un Giacobino tra Amministrazione e Politica* (Naples, Jovene, 1998).

functioned under a competing Masonic Obedience, the so-called Grande Oriente Brasileiro ‘do Passeio’. This lodge had a complicated story.¹¹² On 13 December 1832, a note signed by a certain ‘The Enemy of the Smart Ones’ appeared in the *Correio Mercantil*, warning the Cariocas about it and explaining the reasons it had closed its doors at the Rua dos Ferradores.

Existe nesta Cidade huma Sociedade denominada—Perfeita Amizade.—Seus fins, dizem os patuscos Bartholomeo Bartolazzi, e José Antonio dos Santos, (primeiras e as unicas Personagens interessadas, que a representão) que são Maçonicos, porém e a que estou bem informado, sei que os taes meliantes se valem desse pretexto para *chucharem ceias, beberem algumas garrafas de vinho a custa dos padecentes* que ali cahem, e finalmente aproveitarem o dinheiro das recepções: de que apenas se gasta pequena quantia. Á pouco tempo a tal sucia se reunia em huma casa á rua dos Ferradores, porém desde que alguns dos Socios (em numero de cinco, ou seis, inclusive o filho do tal Bartolazzi, que por isso cahio na indignação de seu *bem conhecido Pai*) que conhecerão o abysmo em que sinhão cahido de boa fê, se despedirõ dali; consta que a tal sucia, isto he os *dous columnas inabalaveis do templo da Chuxadeira*, trata de restabelecer o seu modo de vida em huma casa á rua dos Latoeiros.

[There is in this city a society called—*Perfeita Amizade*.—Its goals are Masonic, say the wantons Bartholomeo Bartolazzi and José Antonio dos Santos, (the first and only figures interested in it and who represent it). However, I am well informed that such scoundrels use this pretext to *indulge themselves in banquets, drink bottles of wine at the cost of the deceived ones* who end up there, and also that they take advantage of the money intended for the receptions, for which purpose they only spend a small percentage. A short while ago, this scum used to gather in a house at the Rua dos Ferradores, but after some of the members (five or six in number, including the son of the said Bartolazzi, whom, for this reason fell in the indignation of his *well-known father*), realized the abyss in which they have fallen into, departed from there in good faith; it is said that such scum, that is, the *two stalwart pillars of the temple of chicanery*, are working to reestablish their lifestyle in a house at Rua dos Latoeiros.]

If we are to believe in the note, the lodge was the source of at least part of Bortolazzi’s income. The note also mentions ‘two stalwart pillars’, a reference to the two entrance columns at the temple of Solomon, which the Old Testament (1 Kings 7:21) identifies as Boaz and Jachin. In Masonic lodges, these twin pillars also represent the first and second *Vigilantes* (Wardens), immediately below the *Venerável*, or Worshipful Master, in the lodge’s hierarchy. The 18 December issue of the same newspaper clarified that Bortolazzi and José Antonio dos Santos were the first and second

¹¹² PROBER, *Maçonaria Política* (see note 101), pp. 112, no. 109, [146], pp. 294-5, no. 359.

Vigilantes at the *Perfeita Amizade* lodge. The note also reveals that the five dissidents were José Joaquim de Figueiredo e Vasconcelos, former editor of the periodicals *A Voz da Razão* and *O Grito da Pátria Contra os Anarquistas*, Libanio Joaquim Pereira, Antonio de Pádua, the baker José Martins, and *Francisco Xavier Bartholazzi*. They allegedly abandoned the lodge after receiving news of their forthcoming expulsion. The exchange of insults continued on 20 and 22 December, with notes by Bortolazzi and his friend Domingos Knoth, an American wine trader and former vice-consul in the Azores, who was also a member of the lodge. The 22 December issue also had letters by Libanio Joaquim Pereira da Silva, who called Bortolazzi a former Italian buffo-actor (*ex-comico bufo italiano*) and currently the lodge's clown (*palhaço efectivo*). The argument reached a new level when Bortolazzi's son, Francisco Xavier, had his letter published on the same day.

[...] devo declarar que a nossa despedida não foi motivada pelo receio de que se nos despedisse, porque: 1) o nós formavamos a maioria dessa sociedade, e por consequencia a minoria não podia despedir-nos; 2) o porque quando constou á tal menoria a nossa resolução, fez se todos os esforços, empregando até as supplicas, a fim de continuarmos. Quanto a mim, lançou-se mão de todos os meios, promessas, ameaças, terror do poder paternal, nada escapou. Finalmente, como repugnava aos principios de honra e caracter, que me inspirarão meus (já fallecidos) educadores, o coadjuvar, com sacrificio de minha saude, actos inteiramente desairosos, pretextei com toda a energia a terrivel molestia que me flagela, a fim de não continuar em tão vergonhoso trafico: donde me resultou o completo abandono de meu pai, vendo me portanto na dura precisão de recorrer á beneficencia dd meus amigos, poisque no triste estado, em que me acho, me priva absolutamente de poder por mim mesmo granjear a subsistencia.

[...] I must declare that our departure was not motivated by the fear that we would be dismissed, since 1) we were the majority of this society, and consequently the minority could not dismiss us; 2) when our resolution was made clear to the minority, all efforts were made, including supplication, with the purpose of making us continue. As for me, all means were deployed, promises, menaces, fear of the paternal power, nothing was omitted. Finally, since participating in these crass actions at the cost of my health was repugnant to the principles of honor and character that my (already deceased) educators inspired in me, I vehemently mentioned the terrible illness that afflicts me, in order to stop taking part in such shameful traffic; which resulted in my father completely abandoning me, leaving me in the difficult situation of having to resort to the good will of my friends, given that I find myself in a sad condition that completely deprives me of the power of earning my own subsistence.]

On 2 January 1832, an anonymous friend of Bortolazzi closed the squabble with a harsh criticism of the unhappy freemasons, suggesting that their acts were motivated purely by revenge. A

hint is offered by an incident involving Figueiredo's periodical *O Grito da Pátria Contra os Anarquistas*, highly favorable to the provisional government, under Diogo Antonio Feijó, and critical of the restorationists. On 25 April 1832, Figueiredo published an exceedingly strong critique of José Bonifácio, accusing him of conspiracy for hiding evidence against Bulow, among other things. The next issue of *O Grito*, three days later, was its last one. This could have been the moment when his political differences with Bortolazzi became too strong to manage.¹¹³ Until then, according to the anonymous author, Figueiredo was the lodge's Secretary, with voting rights and aiming at a higher post, such as Treasurer or even Venerable. Although the note does not specify, Bortolazzi may have decided to dismiss him after the accusation against José Bonifácio. The anonymous letter is even harsher against Francisco Xavier Bortolazzi, accusing him of betraying his father for the promise of receiving a stipend of 40 000 réis a month. As Kurt Prober explained,¹¹⁴ the history of this lodge was marred by internal disputes and liturgical changes until the early 1890s, when it ceased to function.

José Bonifácio was detained on December 1833, remaining for some months under house arrest in the Paquetá Island. He continued to be the G.O.B. Grand Master until 1837 and died in Niterói in 1838. To the date of writing, there is no evidence that Bortolazzi remained close during those years. One of the objects in Bortolazzi's inventory, which he left as a gift to Dr. Duque-Estrada, was a 'portrait of the patriarch of independence, José Bonifacio d'Andrada e Silva, with a golden frame'.¹¹⁵ Another puzzling item is a letter of payment in the amount of 2 000 000 réis, signed by Andrada's foe Joaquim Gonçalves Ledo.¹¹⁶

Grondona returned to Brazil in 1834 and in November received authorization to open an ice-cream business.¹¹⁷ In January 1835 he met the recently arrived Giuseppe Garibaldi. In Rio, they were members of the short-lived lodge *Asilo da Virtude*, and used this venue to entice sympathizers. Grondona even created a branch of the *Giovine Italia*, the *Jovem Rio*, but they were unable to gather enough number of members to accompany Garibaldi or at least to sponsor his revolutionary

¹¹³ The first numbers of Figueiredo's previous periodical, *A Voz da Razão*, were more favorable to José Bonifácio. This may explain why he was accepted as a member in Bortolazzi's lodge.

¹¹⁴ In 1833 the 'Perfeita Amizade' lodge was functioning under the French modern rite, but in 1834, when the G.O.B.P. adopted the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, the lodge joined the G.O.B. However, three years later the G.O.B. also adopted the Scottish rite. In 1846, after Bortolazzi's death, the lodge returned to the G.O.B.P. PROBER, *Maçonaria Política* (see note 101), pp. 294-5, no. 359.

¹¹⁵ [Inventário de Bartholomeu Bartholazzi] (see note 2), f. 34r.

¹¹⁶ 'Huma Letra da quantia de dous contos de reis acceita por | o Conselheiro Joaquim Gonçalves | Ledo datada de seis de Novem- | bro de mil oito centos e quarenta | e hum a trez mes precisar | com seu competente protesto de | não paga'. [Inventário de Bartholomeu Bartholazzi] (see note 2), f. 7v.

¹¹⁷ 'Carta Imperial de 6 de Novembro de 1834', in *Colecção das Leis do Imperio do Brasil de 1834*, Parte Segunda (Rio de Janeiro, Typographia Nacional, 1866), pp. 189-90.

projects.¹¹⁸ In May 1837, Garibaldi left Rio and headed south, engaging on a number of revolutionary wars in the southern provinces and Uruguay. In his letters and memoirs, Garibaldi revealed his thoughts about the Italians he had tried to entice to join his movement in Rio. To his mentor Mazzini he confided that Grondona was a stubborn and gossipy ‘almost infernal genius’,¹¹⁹ but he did not mention Bortolazzi. None had the health or will to follow the legendary militant.

Homeopathy vs allopathy

Bortolazzi kept a low profile during the 1840s. This was certainly due to his illness, given that the first signs of it had begun to appear already in 1833.¹²⁰ In around 1842, as he stated two years later on a note in the *Jornal do Commercio*,¹²¹ he had a ‘large lesion’ of his heart, was suffering from generalized edema (*inteiramente hydropico*), and was ‘tormented by a cruel asthma’. When a physician gave him only 15 days to live, he sought the care of Dr. Domingos de Azeredo Coutinho de Duque-Estrada, a pioneer of homeopathy in Brazil. As Bortolazzi stated confidently, ‘he began treating me and here I am, saved; and one year has already passed’. Bortolazzi became an advocate for homeopathy and participated in the inaugural meeting of the Homeopathic Institute of Brazil, signing its statutes on 10 March 1843.¹²² His doctor too was very satisfied with the results, so much so that he started using Bortolazzi as a poster boy, even mentioning his case in the *Journal de la Médecine Homoeopathique*. In his article, Duque-Estrada revealed that Bortolazzi suffered from a ‘considerable hepatitis, spleen inflammation, pericardial effusion, and generalized hydropsy (edema)’. He added that ‘everyone saw this patient, and his recovery won many supporters for homeopathy’.¹²³

Duque-Estrada refused to be paid for the treatment. Bortolazzi then tried to offer him his desk, which he knew the doctor would like, but he still refused it. They finally reached an agreement on

¹¹⁸ Alfonso SCIROCCO, *Garibaldi: Citizen of the World* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2007), pp. 32-8.

¹¹⁹ Aldo Alessandro MOLA, *Garibaldi vivo: Antologia critica degli scritti con documenti inediti* (Milan, Mazzotta, 1982), p. 74.

¹²⁰ ‘De muito tempo o Sr. Bartholazzi soffria o seu mal, e não por 3 annos, mas pelo tripulo deste tempo’, *Jornal do Commercio* (5 April 1846)

¹²¹ ‘Desenganado por habeis medicos, de uma enorme lesão de coração, inteiramente hydropico, e atormentado de uma asthma cruelissima, dando-se-me apenas 15 dias de vida eu nesse estado, e com 70 annos de idade, recorri à homoeopathia [. . .] Começou a tratar-me, e eis-me salvo; e hum anno se ha já passado’. *Jornal do Commercio* (14/15 June 1844); in the same article, titled *Triumpho Homoeopathico* (Homeopathic Triumph), Bortolazzi revealed: ‘Ha 34 annos e 8 mezes que estou no Brazil’ (I have been in Brazil for 34 years and 8 months).

¹²² Alexandre José de MELLO MORAES, ‘Homeopathy in Brazil’, in *Transactions of the World Homoeopathic Convention* (Philadelphia, Sherman & Co, 1880), pp. 407-27 at p. 411.

¹²³ ‘M. Bartholazzi, âgé de soixante-dix ans, fut sauvé par l’homoeopathie après avoir été abandonné par les sommités allopathiques. Il avait une hépatite considérable, une splénite de même, un hydro-péricarde, et hydropisie générale. Tout le monde a vu ce malade, et sa guérison a gagné à l’homoeopathie un grand nombre de partisans’. DUQUE-ESTRADA, ‘L’Homoeopathie au Brésil’ (see note 1), p. 470-1.

10 October 1843, when Bortolazzi signed a will leaving this and other objects to Duque-Estrada.¹²⁴ The objects, with their respective appraisal, were a mahogany desk (40 000 réis); a mahogany dresser with three drawers (12 000 réis); a shaving case of Brazilian rosewood (8000 réis);¹²⁵ four colored engravings of the four seasons of the year and a portrait of the patriarch of independence, José Bonifácio d'Andrada e Silva, all with a golden frame (2000 réis); all his books and writings (4000 réis); all his masonic insignias (not appraised).

When Duque-Estrada's article was finally published, Bortolazzi had already passed away. Since his death happened less than three years after his supposed cure, homeopaths placed themselves on the defensive. A note signed by a certain *Logicus* in the 29 March 1846 issue of the *Jornal do Commercio* explained:

As hydropesias consecutivas, as dilatações antigas de coração, obstrucções de fígado e a phthísica laringea no terceiro grão não são sempre curadas pela homoeopathia. Os Srs. Bartolazzi, Anginha, Zamith, etc., que recorrêrão à homoeopathia depois de desenganados pela antiga medicina, succumbirão, apesar de seu emprego.

[Consecutive hydropsies, advanced enlargements of the heart, liver obstructions, and laringeal phthisic of the third grade are not always cured by homeopathy. Messrs. Bartolazzi, Anginha, Zamith, etc, who resorted to homeopathy after being given no hope by the old medicine, succumbed, despite its use.]

However, news about Bortolazzi's testament was already circulating. As the traditional medicine advocate *Galenista* pointed out on 4 April, Bortolazzi died after thinking he had recovered, and for this reason only he gave a number of objects to his homeopath. On the following day *Galenista's* gave Duque-Estrada an ultimatum, demanding him to show publicly the terms of the will. On 10 April, *Logicus* provided a slippery answer that settled the question: Bortolazzi died of indigestion. A diagnostic like this could indicate some form of severe dyspepsia. It could be followed by death—not by itself as nineteenth-century physicians believed, but by aggravating a pre-existing problem, such as a heart condition. As it turns out, both *Galenista* and *Logicus* were right, and Dr. Duque-Estrada did not act unethically in accepting the gifts listed in his patient's will.

¹²⁴ [Inventário de Bartholazzi], f. 34r. These objects were appraised at 66 000 réis (see note 2).

¹²⁵ The word *jacarandá* is commonly used in Brazil as a shortened form of *jacarandá-da-Bahia*, or *Dalbergia nigra* (Brazilian rosewood). Its wood was widely used for furniture and musical instruments until mid-twentieth century. The tree called jacaranda everywhere else in the world is known in Brazil as *jacarandá-mimoso*.

Concluding remarks

Bortolazzi's inventory displays an unusual distribution of assets, with 96.3% of his wealth distributed between bank credits, jewelry, and currency (see Figure 11). However, the picture is distorted by the presence of two letters of payment with somewhat vague prospects of liquidity. One of them, signed and accepted by Ledo, was under notary protest for the lack of payment, and the inventory does not provide any information as to the type of service or object these letters refer to. On the other hand, the large quantity of clothes (appraised at 35 600 réis) and jewelry items (243 600 réis), and the absolute lack of real estate and slaves, reveals the lifestyle of a single gentleman with an active social life but no interest whatsoever in building wealth; as expressed in the song he dedicated to Count Waldstein, 'enjoy the day today, tomorrow tis too late.'

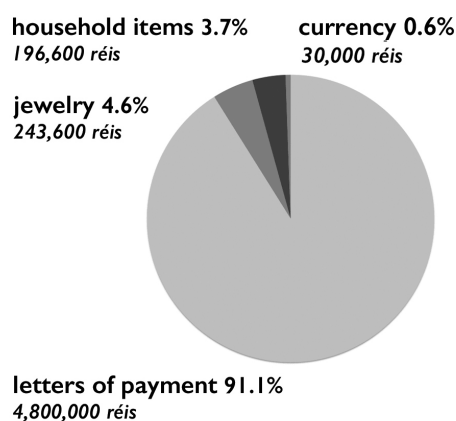


Figure 11. Allocation of assets in the inventory of *Bartholomeu Bartholazzi*, 1846

Bortolazzi enjoyed a relatively long life, outliving a number of guitarists-composers who were born in the 1770s and even 80s, including Carulli, Giuliani, Gragnani, Matiegka, and Sor. Throughout his life, he worked as an instructor and performer on the guitar and mandolin, had temporary engagements with theatrical companies, sometimes as a singer, and published music. But he never had a steady job at a conservatory. His instruments of choice would not have helped in this matter, nor could his lack of formal training. His earliest compositions while in Austria and Germany were virtuoso instrumental variations, but he also published arrangements and original works for voice and piano or guitar. In England he concentrated on Masonic music, fulfilling the musical demands of the Pilgrim lodge, while continuing to include solo guitar, chamber, and vocal music in his *Periodical Amusements*. In Brazil, he soon adapted to the overwhelming taste for *modinhas*, while also publishing music with a more political orientation.

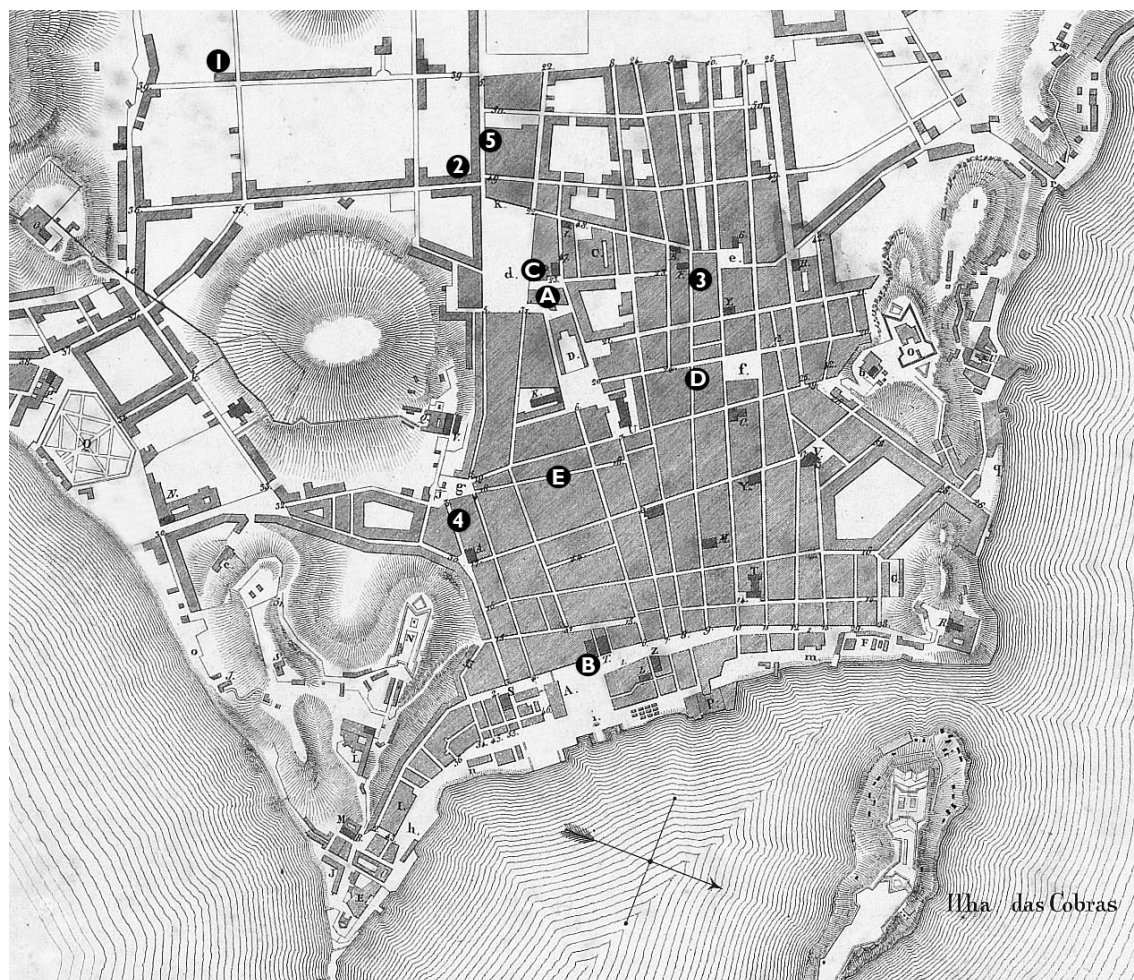


Figure 12. Bortolazzi's residences in Rio de Janeiro: 1) Rua dos Inválidos 80 (1825); 2) Rua do Lavradio 34 (1826-31?); 3) Rua da Alfândega 218 (1831?-2); 4) Rua do Parto 158 (1832); 5) Rua do Conde 38 (1844-6). Related sites: A) Theatro S. Pedro de Alcântara; B) Royal Chapel; C) Residence of José Bonifácio d'Andrada e Silva; D) Tentative location of the 'Perfeita Amizade' lodge in 1832 (Rua dos Ferradores); E) Tentative location of the 'Perfeita Amizade' lodge in 1833 (Rua dos Latoeiros). Jean-Baptiste DEBRET, 'Planta da Cidade de S. Sebastião do Rio de Janeiro' (det.), in *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil* (Paris, Didot, 1839)

Of the thirty-six years Bortolazzi lived in Brazil, he spent more than twenty in Rio (see Figure 12). Until research proves otherwise, he was among the first to print *modinhas* in the city and the country, predating by several years the celebrated works by Gabriel Fernandes da Trindade.¹²⁶ No less important was his role in promoting the six-string guitar in Brazil, a task he continued to perform until his very last moment. Thanks to the groundwork laid during the course of the 1820s and 30s, audiences in Rio were already familiar with the instrument when the Spaniard Vicente

¹²⁶ In 1825, Ferguson and Crockatt published the *Collecção de doze modinhas modernas para piano forte* (see note 86), but we do not know if it was commissioned by a local or foreign printer. Brazilian *modinhas* had been printed in Europe before 1831.

Ayala arrived in February 1841,¹²⁷ or when Marziano Bruni gave his debut concert in Rio at the Theatro de S. Januario, playing his Fantasia on motifs from *Norma*, for guitar and grand orchestra.¹²⁸ It was 31 January 1846. News of Bortolazzi's death in the Province's highlands had just reached town.

¹²⁷ *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (8 February 1841). Born in Murcia, Vicente Ayala has taught Antonio Cano, with whom he also performed. After a frustrated stay in Lisbon, Ayala went to Rio de Janeiro, where he was hired as a singer at the Capela Real. He performed several times as a solo guitarist and singer at the Theatro São Pedro de Alcantara. In 1851 he was living at the Rua do Lavradio 34, the same address at which Bortolazzi used to live twenty years before. He left Rio for Montevideo in 1852.

¹²⁸ He was announced as 'musician of the chapel of the King of Sardinia'. *Jornal do Commercio* (29 January 1846). Bruni lived in London, where he published a *Treatise on the Guitar* in the 1830s, and in Portugal, before heading to Rio, where he stayed until at least 1851.

Appendix 1

List of Compositions by Bartolomeo Bortolazzi

Opus Number	Title and Publisher	Dedication	Location, Remarks
VIENNA, BERLIN, LEIPZIG, BONN 1802-1807			
1	<i>XII Variations pour la guitarre</i> . Vienna: Cappi, [ca. 1800]; 5 pages.	Madame la Comtesse de Palffy née Comtesse de Hoyos	CZ: Prague, Národní Muzeum, České muzeum hudby, XLII A 91, 92, 95 IT: Venice, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Benedetto Marcello, Ospedaletto 12.172 IT: Venice, Biblioteca-archivio dell'IRE, 172 <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 6 March 1802, p. 811
	<i>6 Variations pour la Mandoline avec accompagnement de Guittare sur une piece tiré du Ballet Alcina</i> . Vienna: Artaria [ca. 1802]		<i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 11 September 1802, p. 3344
	<i>Rondeau für Piano-Forte und Guitarre</i> . Berlin: Lischke [n.d.]		DE: Dresden, Sachsische Landesbibliothek, Mus.1.B.577,21
	<i>Rondeau et douze variations concertantes pour guitarre et pianoforte</i> . Berlin: Paez [n.d.], 5 pages		DE: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabt. Magazin, 4 Mus.pr. 23909
	<i>Sonata pour guitarre et pianoforte no. 1</i> . Leipzig: Peters, [ca. 1812]		DE: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabt. Magazin, Mus.pr. 2012.28
5 no. 1	<i>VI Aires Italiens avec accompagnement de la Guitarre</i> . Vienna: Bureau d'Arts et d'Industrie, [ca. 1803]; 13 pages.	Madame le Baronne de Braun	CH: Zentral Bibliothek Solothurn, Altbestand; ZBSO DA I 756 IT: Bolzano, Biblioteca privata Toggenburg; A/I, 57 IT: Verona, Biblioteca Civica <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 13 June 1804, p. 2386
8	<i>VI Variations sur l'air (: Nel cor più non mi sento :) de l'Opera La Molinara pour la Mandoline ou Violon avec accompagnement de la Guitarre</i> . Leipzig: Breitkopf und Haertel [ca. 1804]; 9 pages.	Son Altesse Monseigneur de Duc d'Accierenza Pignatelli etc.	DE: Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mk 90;B-22 CZ: Prague, Národní Muzeum, České muzeum hudby, XLII F 687 <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 18 February 1804, p. 609
9	<i>Sonate pour le Piano-Forte avec accompagnement d'und Mandoline ou Violon</i> . Leipzig: Breitkopf und Haertel [ca. 1804]; 19 pages	Son Altesse Royale Louis Ferdinand Prince de Prusse	DE: Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mk 90;B-23 <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 18 February 1804, p. 609
9	<i>Sonate pour le Piano-Forte avec accompagnement de Mandoline ou Violon</i> . Vienna: Kunst und Industrie [ca. 1807]		<i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 15 April 1807, p. 1734

10, books 1, 2	<i>Six Thèmes Avec Variations pour le Violon ou la Mandoline</i> . Vienna: Bureau d'Arts et d'Industrie, [ca. 1805]; 25 pages.		DE: Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Mk 90;B-24 <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 23 January 1805, p. 317
10, book 1	<i>Six Themes Avec Variations pour le Violon ou la Mandoline</i> . Bonn: N. Simrock, [ca. 1805]; 11 pages.		DE: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabt. Magazin, 4 Mus.pr. 2011.5973 DK: Aarhus, University Library, 3-105-2490
10, book 2	<i>Six Thèmes Avec Variations pour le Violon ou la Mandoline</i> . Vienna: Bureau d'Arts et d'Industrie, [ca. 1805]; 13 pages.		DE: Berlin, Universität der Künste Bibliothek, Rarakammer RA 2291 -2. DE: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabt. Magazin, 4 Mus.pr. 2011.5974
11	<i>VI Aires Italiens avec accompagnement de la Guittare, ou du Piano Forte</i> . Bonn: Simrock, [ca. 1808?]; 17 pages. Italian and German text - Lasciar il mio tesoro [e come mai farò] - Verlassen dich, mein Leben - Più che a te penso - Je mehr ich an dich denke - Quel fingere affetto - Mit Zärtlichkeit spielen - O fà che m'ami - Ach schenk' mir Liebe - O caro e bel sembiante - Aus himmelblauen Augen - Non mi lasciar ben mio - Höre mich, teure Geliebte		DE: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Unter den Linden, Musikabteilung, DMS O.16817 DE: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabt. Magazin, 4 Mus.pr. 2011.245 DE: Bonn, Beethoven Haus, Geyr 39 b DE: Frankfurt, Universitätsbibliothek J. C. Senckenberg, Zentralbibliothek, Mus. pr. Q 54/86
11	<i>6 Aires italiens, avec accomp. d'une Guitare</i> . Vienna: Cappi [ca. 1804]	Mademoiselle Henriette Wolny	NUKAT; Polish National Union Catalog <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 20 October 1804, p. 4301 Meysel, <i>Handbuch</i> , Leipzig, 1817, p. 578
11	<i>VI Aires Italiens Avec l'accompagnement de la Guitarre</i> . Berlin, Chez les Frères Schiavonetti, [ca. 1806], 11 pages.		DE: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Unter den Linden, Musikabteilung, 55 Depos SA 1513
13	<i>Six Variations pour la Guittare avec un Violon inobligé</i> . Vienna: Eder? [ca. 1804; also Bonn: Simrock]		<i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 17 November 1804, p. 4716
14	<i>Six Ariettes Italiennes avec accompagnement de Guitarre</i> . Vienna: Eder <i>6 Ariettes</i> . Leipzig, Br. et Haertel 12 Gr. <i>Sei Ariette coll'accomp. di Chitara</i> . 54 kr. Vienna: Kunst und Industrie [ca. 1804]		Meysel, <i>Handbuch</i> , Leipzig, 1817, p. 578 <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 17 November 1804, p. 4716

15	<i>Variations pour la Guitarre & Violon concertans sur l'air: Quanto è più bello l'amor contadino, de l'Opera, la Molinara, de Paisiello.</i> Vienna: Kunst und Industrie [ca. 1804], 2 pages.		DE: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabt. Magazin, 4 Mus.pr. 2011.6238 <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 22 September 1804, p. 3897
16 no. 1, 2	<i>6 Thèmes avec Variations pour le Violon ou la Mandoline avec l'accompagnement de la Guitarre.</i> Vienna: Kunst und Industrie [ca. 1805] (also Bonn: Simrock)		CZ: Prague, Národní Muzeum, České muzeum hudby, XLIX D 87 <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 23 January 1805
18	<i>Cantate avec guitarre ou forte-piano.</i> Vienna: Artaria, [ca. 1800]; 5 pages.	Mademoiselle Flora de Genz	CZ: Prague, Národní Muzeum, České muzeum hudby, XLII B 13
19	<i>XII Variations concertantes pour guitare et pianoforte.</i> Vienna: Bureau d'Arts et d'Industrie, 1805 [also Haslinger]		Bibliothek Gesellschaft Musikfreunde Wien.
20	<i>6 Romances Françaises.</i> Vienna: Steiner [also Berlin: Concha]		Meysel, <i>Handbuch</i> , Leipzig, 1817, p. 578
21	<i>Neuer und gründlicher Unterricht, die Guitarre nach einer leichten und fasslichen Methode spielen zu lernen. Nuova, ed essata Scuola per la Chitarra. Ridotta ad un Metodo il piu semplice, ed il piu Chiaro.</i> Vienna: Chemischen Druckerey, [ca. 1804]; 27 pages.		AT: Vienna, Österreichischer Nationalbibliothek Musiksammlung, MS42697-qu.4° GB: London, Royal Academy of Music, Rare Book Collection, XX(146339.1) From RAM's catalog: Date from plate number.
	<i>Anweisung die Mandoline von selbst zu erlernen, nebst Übungsstücken.</i> Leipzig: Breitkopf und Haertel; 32 pages.		AT: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, MS7299-4° IT: Bergamo, Biblioteca civica Angelo Mai <i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 15 December 1804, p. 5132
	<i>Anweisung die Mandoline von selbst zu erlernen, mit [?]gen Übungsstücken.</i> Vienna: Kunst und Industrie [ca. 1805]		<i>Wiener Zeitung</i> , 29 February 1805, p. 2524
mss.	<i>Fünf Lieder für Singstimme und Gitarre.</i> 6 folios. 1810. - Chi piu felice di me saria - Sceglia fra mille un core (Metastasio: <i>Temistocle</i> , 1. Akt, 13. Szene) - Io non so se amor tu sei, (Metastasio: <i>Antigono</i> , 1. Akt, 5. Szene) - Sprezzami pur crudele!, (Metastasio: <i>Gli Orti Esperidi</i> , 2. Teil) - Partir tu vuoi		AT: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus.Hs.25448

LONDON 1807-1809			
	<i>Six Venetian Canzonets, arranged for the Spanish guitar.</i> [London]: Ml Kelly, [n.d.]; 9 pages		GB: London, British Library, Music Collections G.426.dd.(20.); watermark 1803 US: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library; Music & Performing Arts Special Collection; M1623 S59
	<i>Six Italian Arietts, with a Spanish guitar, & piano forte accompaniment, etc.</i> London: Monzani & Co, [n.d.]; 12 pages		GB: London, British Library, Music Collections G.426.dd.(19.); watermark 1805
	<i>To Day, a Song for three Voices, with an Accompaniment for the Piano Forte.</i> London: Printed for the Author, [1806?]; 7 pages	Count Waldstein	GB: London, British Library, Music Collections, E.601.k.(4.) US: Chicago, Newberry Library, General Collection 2 nd floor, VM 1549. B62t
	<i>Maurer Lied zum Gebrauche der Pilger in London, etc.</i> [London], [ca. 1805]; 4 pages.	H.en M.ter von S.tl Bruder Giese	GB: London, British Library, Music Collections, C.424.g.(1.)
	<i>Gesellen Lied zum Gebrauche der Pilger Loge in London.</i> [London]: [n.d.]; 3 pages.		GB: London, British Library, Music Collections, C.424.g.(2.) GB: London, Royal College of Music, IX. F. 4. a. (Barclay, 1909, p. 68)
	<i>Cantata à l'occasion de la reception d'un frère ...</i> [London], [ca. 1805]; 4 pages.	Aux Frères de la respectable Loge au Pèlerin à Londres	GB: London, British Library, Music Collections, C.424.g.(3.)
	<i>XII favorite waltzes & trios, for the piano forte: as performed by the author on the mandolino, before Her Majesty & the Royal Family. London: printed & sold for the author by Cianchettini & Sperati [between 1807 and 1811]; 9 pages.</i>	H.R.H. the Duchess of York	GB: London, British Library, Music Collections, Not yet available, UIN: BLL01017008202
	<i>Waltz with six easy variations for a Spanish guitar and flute accompt. ad libitum.</i> London: Monzani & Co. [ca.1807]; 3 pages.	Miss Elisabeth Forbes	GB: London, Royal Academy of Music, Rare Book Collection, XX(146296.1); XX(157408.1)
	<i>A favorite thema with ten variations concertante for two Spanish guitars.</i> London: L. Lavenu, [ca.1807]; 7 pages.	Miss Rumbolds	GB: London, Royal Academy of Music, Rare Book Collection, XX(157408.1)
	<i>Two Italian Ariettes and a duetto with accompaniment for the pianoforte or the Spanish Guitar.</i> London: Printed for Mr Bortolazzi, [n.d.]; 10 pages. - La mia bella cercando mi va - Duetto ("Gia' la notte si avvicina") - Per amare abbiamo il core	Miss Charlotte Handy	GB: London, British Library, Music Collections H.1980.n.(22.) GB: London, Royal Academy of Music, Rare Book Collection, XX(147293.1)

	<i>Theme varie.</i> [Paris]: Pacini, [n.d.]; 2 folios.		GB: London, Royal Academy of Music, Rare Book Collection, XX(146297.1) From RAM's catalog: Lacks titlepage. Publisher's address at foot of music on p49. Paginated 48-49, recto of 48 and verso of 49 are blank. 'No.370' at head of music. Theme and 6 variations.
	[Air, for voice and guitar, by] Signor Bertolazzi. Italian and French text. <i>Journal de guitare ou de lyre</i> , 17me annee, no.20. Edited by Pierre-Jean Porro. Paris: Au Bureau du Journal de Guitare et de Piano, [ca. 1807]; 3 pages. - O caro e bel sembiante - Digne objet que j'adore		GB: London, Royal Academy of Music, Rare Book Collection, XX(144614.1)
	<i>Twenty-four Waltzes by Bartolazzi.</i> In Venua's (F.) Ballets. 10s 6d		<i>A Catalogue of a Miscellaneous Collection of Music...</i> London: Calkin and Budd, 1844
RIO DE JANEIRO 1827-1832			
	Hum Thema, com seis variações para flauta, com acompanhamento de Libitum de piano forte, ou viola Franceza.		<i>Diário do Rio de Janeiro</i> , 10 January 1827
	Trez modinhas brasileiras, com acompanhamento de piano forte		<i>Diário Mercantil</i> 26 October 1827
	Hymno Patriotico feito pelo Patriota o Sr. Odorico Mendes em comemoração do glorioso, e sempre memoravel Dia 7 de Abril de 1831, posto em muzica para 4 vozes com acompanhamento de Piano Forte.	Aos Augustos e Dignissimos Srs. Deputados da Nação Brasileira	<i>Correio Mercantil</i> , 26 July 1831
	Valsa para piano forte denominada A Regeneração do Brasil.	Aos memoráveis fatos do 7 de Abril	<i>Correio Mercantil</i> , 6 June and 20 October 1831; <i>O Republico</i> , 18 June 1831
	O Girassol, Modinha Brasileira à imitação de Cavatina, com acompanhamento de piano forte ou de viola francesa. Quadras feitas pelo Ill. e Ex. Sr. José Lino Coutinho.	Ao lindo sexo Brasileiro	<i>Correio Mercantil</i> , 20 October 1831; <i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , 9 November 1831
	Primeiro número das tres Modinhas Brasileiras com acompanhamento de piano forte ou de viola francesa. Quadras do Ill. e Ex. Sr. José Lino Coutinho		<i>Jornal do Commercio</i> , 9 November 1831
	Sahio á luz Litographiada o n. 2 das 3 modinhas Brasileiras, com acompanhamento de piano forte ou de violla Franceza: quadras do Illmo. e Exmo. Sr. José Lino Coutinho		<i>Diário do Rio de Janeiro</i> , 3 January 1832
	3 modinhas Brasileiras com acompanhamento de pianno forte, ou viola Franceza		<i>Correio Mercantil</i> , 2 August 1832

Appendix 2

Announcements by Bortolazzi in the Rio Press

O Spectador Brasileiro, 10 February 1826.

Bartholomeu Bartolazzi, professor de musica, morador na Rua dos Invalidos N. 80, faz sciente ao Respeitavel Publico que, quem quizer aprender musica, cantar, tocar viola, viola Franceza ou mandolino, que elle o ensina; para o que terão a bondade de o mandar procurar na sua moradia para com elle tratar.

Diário do Rio de Janeiro, 26 May 1826.

Bartholomeu Bartolazi, Italiano Proffessor de Muzica, morador na rua dos Invalidos N. 80 faz sciente ao respeitavel Publico, que se tem proposto a dar lições de Muzica; isto he, encinar a cantar, tocar violla Francesa, como Portuguesa, e Mandolino, instrmento elegante para Snras.; portanto todos aquelles Snrs. e Snras que quizerem servir se do seu prestimo terão a bondade de annunciar por este Diario a sua moradia, para immediatamente hir tratar sobre este objecto.

Diário do Rio de Janeiro, 10 January 1827.

12. Na rua do Rozario N. 207, acha-se para vender hum Thema, com seis variações para flauta, com acompanhamento de Libitum de piano forte, ou viola Franceza, composto pelo proffessor de musica Bartholomeu Bortolazzi, empregado do Imperial Theatro.

Diário Mercantil, 26 October 1827.

17. Ha para vender, na Rua dos Ourives n. 86, trez modinhas brasileiras, com acompanhamento de piano forte, compostas por Bartholomo Bertolazzi, por 800 rs. [...]

Diário do Rio de Janeiro, 27 October 1827.

1. Ha para vender na rua dos Ourives N. 86 tres modinhas Brasileiras, com acompanhamento de piano, compostas por Bartholomeo Bartholazzi, por 800 réis; [...]

Jornal do Commercio, 26 July 1830.

33. Bartholomeo Bortholazzi, Professor em muzica adverte ao respeitavel Publico, que a Subscrição para a Collecção de Muzica, annunciada com o titulo de = Variedades de Muzica, ou Divertimento Periodico Mensal = faz se na rua detraz do Hospicio n. 49, (e não 419 como por engano diz o annunsio inserto no Patriota Brasileiro de Domingo 18 do corrente.

Correio Mercantil 16 June 1831

Acha-se a venda nas lojas dos Srs. Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, rua dos Pescadores n. 49, João Pedro da Vega, canto da rua da Quitanda e da de S. Pedro, Carlos Crockatt rua da Quitanda n. Agra e C., canto da rua do Ouvidor, e de S. Francisco de Paula; Silvino José de Almeida, Praça da Constituição n. 51, João Baptista, rua da Cadêa, n.; a grande e bem aceita valça (para piano forte) de nominada a regeneração do Brasil; composição de Bartholameo Bertholozzi, Professor, e compositor de muzica, mestre de canto de viola franceza, de Bandolim etc., mora na rua da Alfandega n. 218

Correio Mercantil, 26 July 1831

Sahio a luz lithographado o grande Hymno Patriotico feito pelo Patriota o Sr. Odorico Mendes em commemoração do glorioso, e sempre memoravel Dia 7 de Abril de 1831, posto em muzica para 4 vozes com acompanhamento de Piano Forte, e dedicado aos Augustos e Dignissimos Srs. Deputados da Nação Brasileira, por Bartholomeo Bortholazzi: Vende-se nas lojas dos Srs. E. F. da Veiga, rua dos Pescadores n. 49, J. P. da Veiga, rua da Quitanda canto da de S. Pedro; Crèmière, rua dos Ourives n. 86; J. B. dos Santos, rua da Cadeia n. 142; Crockat, rua da Quitanda n. 42; Silvino, Praça da Constituição; Groseman, rua da Misericordia n. 55; Agra e C., rua do Ouvidor; Klier, rua detraz do Hospicio n. 59. Nas mesmas lojas se vende a segunda e ultima impressão da bem acceita Valsa á Regencia do Brasil.

Correio Mercantil, 20 October 1831

Sahio á luz lithographiada a brilhante Modinha Brasileira, a imitação de Cavatina, com acompanhamento de piano forte, ou de viola Franceza: Quadras feitas pelo Ill. e Ex. Sr. José Lino Coutinho, posta em musica, e dedicada ao lindo sexo Brasileiro por B. Bortolazzi, Professor, e Compositor de musica, mestre de canto de viola Franceza, de bandolim, etc. morador na rua da Alfandega n. 218, a dita modinha, vende-se nas lojas do costume assim como os ultimos numeros do Hymno Patriotico, e Valsa da Regeneração do Brasil.

Diário do Rio de Janeiro, 9 November 1831

Sahio á luz lithographiado o 1.o numero das trez modinhas Brasileiras, com acompanhamento de piano forte, ou de viola francesa; Quadras do Illm.o e Exm.o Snr. José Lino Coutinho; postas em Musica por B. Bartholazzi. Vende se nas lojas dos Srs. Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, canto da rua da Quitanda, e de S. Pedro; Crémieri, rua dos Ourives; Agra e Comp., canto da rua do Ouvidor, e de S. Francisco de Paula; João Baptista, rua da Cadêa; João Grossmann, rua da Misericordia; B. Klier,

rua detraz do Hospicio; Silvino José de Almeida, Praça da Constituição. Nas mesmas lojas vende-se o Girazol, modinha Brasileira á imitação de Cavatina; ha ainda alguns exemplares do Hymno Patriotico, e Valsa á Regeneração do Brasil, para vender.

Diário do Rio de Janeiro, 3 January 1832

Sahio á luz Litographiada o n. 2 das 3 modinhas Brasileiras, com acompanhamento de piano forte, ou de violla Franceza: quadros do Illm.o e Exm.o Sr. José Lino Coutinho; composição de B. Bortholazzi, proffessor, e Compositor de Musica, Mestre de canto de violla Franceza de Mandolim, &c., morador na rua da Alfandega n. 218, o sobredito 2.o n., assim como o 1.o n., e mais o Girazol, e outras composições do mesmo proffessor vendem-se nas casas dos Srs. Evaristo Ferreira da Veiga, rua dos Pescadores, João Pedro da Veiga, rua da Quitanda, canto da rua de S. Pedro, Mr. Crémier, rua dos Ourives, e rua do Ouvidor, Agra, e Comp. canto da rua do Ouvidor, e largo de S. Francisco de Paula; Francisco de Paula Brito, Praça da Constituição n. 51; B. Kliar, rua detraz do Hospicio; João Baptista, rua da Cadeia; João Groszman, rua da Misericordia.

Correio Mercantil, 2 August 1832

Nas lojas do costume achão-se a venda 3 modinhas Brasileiras com acompanhamento de piano forte, ou viola franceza, e mais composições de B. Bortelazzi Proffessor d muzica mestre de canto de viola franceza, morador na rua do Parto 158

Diário do Rio de Janeiro, 8 August, 1832

Nas lojas do costume achão-se á venda 3 modinhas Brasileiras, com acompanhamento de piano forte, ou viola francesa, e mais composições do Professor Bartholomeu Bortelazzi, mestre de canto e de viola francesa, morador na rua do Parto n. 158

O Pharol Constitucional, 16 August 1844.

BARTHOLOMEO Bortolozzi, professor, e compositor de musica, morador na rua do Conde n.o 38, achando-se inteiramente restabelecido da sua grave molestia, participa ao respeitavel publico, que continua a dar lições, em casas particulares, de canto, violão &c., por tanto quem se quizer utilizar do seu prestimo, o farão sabedor para serem procurados.

Appendix 3

Inventories

Arquivo Nacional, ZN Serie Inventarios - Juizo de Orfaos e Ausentes, 1821, maço 386, no. 6860 gal. B [Inventario de *Catherina Margarida Leonardi / Bartholazzi*]

[List of items and appraisal, compiled from ff. 8v-11v and 47r-50r]

Hum escravo de nome Ernesto Mosambique	180,000
Huma escrava Arnestina Mosambique	150,000
<i>Villa de Resende 27 Mar 1822</i>	330,000
Sette vidros afetando pedras	2,000
Hum ditto anel com cabelo	1,000
Dous colares	3,500
<i>Villa de Resende 27 Mar 1822</i>	6,500
Duas mesas de jacaranda pequennas velhas	6,400
Seis cadeiras de madeira branca	4,800
Duas Marquesas de jacaranda com colla	14,000
Huma Mesa de adeira branca com abas	3,200
Dois colxoens rottos com cabelo	6,000
Hum barril para agoa	640
Hum Cravo pequeno	4,000
Huma meija Comoda de madeira branca	5,600
Huma Gamella velha	600
Tres lençoes rottos	1,920
Huma banca de cabeceira	2,000
Louça da serventia da Casa e vidros e duas palmatorias de folha	900
Tres colxas	2,000
<i>Corte do Reino do Brasil 20 Dez 1821</i>	51,060
	387,560

[ff. 41r-41v: Suggested partition]

Falescida D. Catharina Bartholazi Ex.mo Cortes	
Monte a quantia de A saber	<u>387#560</u>
Em dous escravos descriptos a p 8v	330#000
Em joias descriptas a p 9	6#500
Em moveis de madr.a descriptos a p 11	<u>51#060</u>
	<u>387#560</u>
Despezas a quantia de a saber	<u>2#400</u>
Ao Ministro da partilha	1#000
Aos Partidores	1#000
Ao D.or Curador	<u>#400</u>
	<u>2#400</u>
Fica liquido a quantia de	<u>385#160</u>
Pertence de meiação ao meheiro Inv.e a q.ta de	<u>192#580</u>
E a falescida inventr.a outra igual q.ta de	<u>192#580</u>
Que p falescer sem testamento se deve pelos quatro herdeiros declarados a p3 e pertence a	<u>48#145</u>

cada hum de lig.a matr.a a q.ta de	
Pagam.to a herdr.a menor Carlota do q.e lhe pert.e de lig.a matr.a a q.ta de	48#145
H. a quarta parte do escravo Arnesto Mossambi- que descripto, e avaliado a p. 8v em 180#000	45#000
H. em dinheiro do mieiro Inv.e Seu Pai	3#145
	48#145
O pagamento dos trez herdeiros Theresa menor, Fran- cisco menor, e Braz Bartholazi maior saõ todos fei- tos na forma do pagamento da herd.a menor Carlota	
Pagam.to ao mieiro invent.e Bar- tholomeu Bartholazi do que lhe pertence de meiação	192#580
E para soluçãõ do que ha de dar em dinhei- ro a herdeira menor Carlota	3#145
E a herdr.a menor Thereza	3#145
E ao herdeiro menor Francisco	3#145
E ao herdr.o Braz Bartholazi	3#145
E para soluçãõ do preparo da presente par- tilha atendido no calculo della	2#400
	207#560
Haverá a escrava Arnestina Mossam- bique descripta a p 8v	150#000
H. as joias descriptas a p 9	6#500
H. os moveis descriptos a p 11	51#060
	207#560
Rio de Janr.o 4 de Agosto de 1825 a Paiva Alm.da	

Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional, ZN Serie Inventários - Juízo de Órfãos e Ausentes, cx. 510 no. 634, gal. A 1846, [Inventário de *Bartholomeu Bartholazzi*]

[f. 5r] Auto de Arrecadação | Anno do Nascimento de Nosso Senhor Jesus Christo de mil oito | e centos e quarenta e seis, aos vinte di- | as do mez de Fevereiro nesta Corte e | Cidade do Rio de Janeiro em a Rua | da Conceição e casa do Reverendo Co- | nego Cura José Luiz de Freitas, onde | eu Escrivão e Ajudante do Escrivão | de ausentes Candido Martins dos | Santos Vianna fui vindo por virtu | de do Mandado retro para proceder | a arrecadação dos bens do finado | Bartholomeu Bartholasi que se | achouse em poder do dito Reveren- | dissimo Conego, e sendo ahi com o | Curador nomeado a herança Joaõ | Bernardo Nogueira da Silva | e o Solicitador da Fasenda Jose Mar- | tins de Moraes, intimei ao sobredi | to Reverendo Conego para declarar | e apresentar os bens que em si ti | vesse pertencente ao dito finado | e que foi satisfeito apresentando | os bens seguintes = A quantia de | trinta mil reis em notas do The- | souro = Huma Caixa de tartaru | ga para rapé com retrato = Hum | Relogio com caixa que parece ouro | com huma cadeia desuzada = Dous anneis de ouro – Hum botaõ || [f. 5v] de ouro para peito de Camisa = um | alfinete de peito com pedras brancas | Hum dito com huma pedra de | topasio amarello = Dois Botoens | de coralina para punho de camisa = | Huma colher de prata para sou | pa = Hum garfo de prata = Hum | par de oculos de metal digo de sou | les com aros de cobre dourado = | Huma carteira velha. E neste | acto pelo dito Reverendo Conego | Cura José Luiz de Freitas foi de- | clarado que os objectos acima rela- | cionados vieraõ para a casa delle de- | clarante por virem na condução com | os que elle declarante usa em suas vi | agens de sua Fezenda da Parahiba | do Sul para esta Corte e vice ver- | sa em cuja Fasenda estando de | hospede o dito Bartholomeu Bartho- | lazi fallecera na viagem quasi que | repentinamente vindo em compa | nhia delle declarante para esta | Cidade, e que encontrando-lhe al | guns bens, os fez arrolar convo | cando para isso o Juiz de Paz da | Freguesia de Santa Anna de Ce | bollas termo da Villa da Parahiba | do Sul que a isso se prestou fa | sendo por depositario delles a elle | declarante, cujos bens saõ os se | guintes = Hum violaõ com || [f. 6r] com sua Caixa = Hum Capote = Hum chapeo de pelle bastante usa | do = Huma sobre casaca = dous pa | res de oculos sendo hum com os aros | de asso, e outro com aros de tartaruga | Hum relógio com caixa de ouro | com hum cordaõ tambem de ouro | com seis palmos e outro dito fino | com hum e meio palmo com

hu- | ma chave; Hum argolaõ de | ouro = Seis botoens para punho de | camisa, de coralina – Hum dito | para peito de camisa com hum | pedra branca = Huma carteira velha com papeis de nenhum presti | mo = duas chavinhas em hum argola de metal = Emais entre | gou a dito Conego hum pequena | porçaõ de roupa que veio na Con | duçaõ que é a seguinte = Hum | Radaque de Chita = Cinco cami | sas = Quatro colletes = Duas Jaque | tas = Oito calças = Huma Casaca = Oito pares de meias = hum lenço = de pescosso = Seis lenços para rape | Hum Bone = Hum Bando | lim. E por nada mais ter que | apresentar ou declarar o referido Reverendo Conego, procedi a ar | recadação de todos os bens aqui | mencionados fasendo delles | entrega ao Curador que del || [f. 6v] delles tomou conta, e para constar | fiz este Auto que assignou o Cu | rador e Solicitador da Fasenda | e eu José Alvares da Silva Penna | o servi e assignei | Jose Alvares da S.a Penna | Joaõ Bernardo Nogr.a da S.a | Joze Martins de Moraes | Continuação da Arrecad.m | E logo no mesmo dia mez e annos | no auto retro declarado, em a Rua | do Conde casa numero trinta e oito de morada de Francisco Luiz Morey onde eu Escrivaõ Ajudan | te ao Escrivaõ de ausentes Candi | do Martins dos Santos Vianna | fui vindo por virtude do Man | dado retro a fim de proceder a | arrecadação dos bens do intesta | do Bartholomeo Bartholazi | que na dita casa morava, e don | de ahi com o Curador nomea | do a herança Joaõ Bernardo | Nogueira da Silva e o Solici || [f. 7r] e o Solicitador da Fazenda José | Martins de Moraes, intimei ao | dito Francisco Luiz Morey que | de posse dos bens se achava para | declarar e apresentar todos os bens | do finado Bartholomeo Barthola | zi o que foi satisfeito apresentando | os bens seguintes = Huma Secreta | ria de mogno = hum meia Com | moda de dito = hum pequena | dita de jacarandá = hum mar | quesa de jacarandá com dous colxo | ens = hum estojo com duas gave | tas e varios objectos de faser barba | hum mesa de madeira branca = hum lavatorio = Duas pequenas | caixinhas = hum mesa pequena | de jacarandá de abrir = hum sofá de | jacarandá = Seis cadeiras de dito = du | as ditas ordinarias = Dous moxos [?] de | oleo – hum cabide = Oito quadros | velhos com moldura dourada = Quatro espelhos dous maiores, e dous meno | res = duas mangas [?] de vidro = dous | castiças de casquinha – hum pe - | queno armario com vidraça = hu | ma mesinha pequena – hum | frasqueira felha com vidros = hu | ma banca = hum bandolim | velho = hum tinteiro = hum cas | tiçal de lataõ – varios Livros = hu || [f. 7v] hum porçaõ de muzica nova, e | velha = Cento e vinte trez peças de | roupa = hum Caixa para ra | pé de prata dourada = hum al- | finete de peito de diamantes | muito miudos com hum cordaõ | fino com quatro palmos = hum | alfinete de caõ digo de ouro em | forma de caõsinho = hum colher | de prata para soup = traz ditas | de dita para chá = hum con | cha para açucar = hm garfo | Huma Letra da quantia de dous contos de reis acceita por | o Conselheiro Joaquim Gonçalves | Ledo datada de seis de Novem- | bro de mil oito centos e quarenta | e hum a trez mes precisar | com seu competente protesto de | naõ paga = Outra da quan | tia de dous contos e oito centos | mil reis acceita por Bernardo | José de Figueiredo em deseceis de | Outubro de mil oito centos e qua- | renta e cinco a trez meses pre | cisar. E por nada mais ter que | arrecadar se fez entrega ao | Curador dos bens arrecadados | e para constar fiz este termo | que assignou o Curador, e | Solicitador da Fasenda eu | Jose Alvares da Silva Penna || [f. 8r] da Silva Penna o servi e as | signei | José Alvares da S.a Penna | Joaõ Bernadro Nogr.a da S.a | Joze Martins de Moraes

[ff. 12r-14r: List of items and appraisal]

Moveis		
1 Secretaria de mogno com tres gavetas		40#000
1 Meia Comoda d d.o com duas gavetas		12#000
1 Meia d.a pequena de Jacard.a com tres gavetas grandes e tres pequenas		6#000
1 Frasqueira com 6 vidros		6#000
1 Marqueza de Jacarandá com 2 Colxões		12#000
1 Estojo de Jacarandá com objetos p.a barba		8#000
1 Meza pequena de madeira branca		1#000

1 Lavatorio		1#500
2 Caixinhas pequenas		#640
1 Meza pequena de Jacarandá de abrir		4#000
1 Sofá de Jacarandá ordinario		8#000
6 Cadeiras de Jacarandá	2500	15#000
2 Cadeiras de d.o ordinario		2#000
8 Quadro velhos com estampas		2#000
2 Espelhos de parede grandes ordinario		4#000
2 Espelhos de d.o pequenos ordinario		#640
2 Mangas [?] de Vidro		4#000
2 Castiças de Casquinha		4#000
1 Armario [?] pequeno com vidraças		1#000
1 Mezinha pequena		#320
1 Frasqueira velha com vidros		#640
1 Banca muito velha		#320
1 Bandolim velho		1#000
1 Tinteiro		1#000
1 Castiçal de latão		#200
1 Pequena porção de diferentes livros		2#000
1 Pequena porção de diferentes papeis de musica		2#000
1 Caixa d tartaruga com retrato p.a rape		4#000
3 Pares de Oculos		#500
2 Carteiras velhas de marroquim		#
1 Violão com caixa		12#000
1 Bandolim		3#000
		161#260
Roupa		
16 Camizas de diferentes qualidades	240	3#840
18 Calças de “ “	400	7#200
9 Siroulas “ d.os	160	1#440
6 Jaquetas “ d.os	400	2#400
11 Coletes “ d.os	300	3#300
5 Thoalhas de Alg.m pequenas	100	#500
6 Lençoes de diferentes qualid.es	320	1#920
5 Fronhas de “ tamanhos	060	#300
13 Lenços p.a tabaco sendo alguns muito usados	100	1#300
28 Lenços de cores e brancos	060	1#680
6 Colarinhos	080	#480
1 Suspensorio		#100
4 Cazacos muito velhos		2#000
2 Calças de pano “		#640
34 Pares de meias de alg.m e Linho ord.o p.a homem		1#000
2 Calças de chita		#640
1 Calça de Laã		#320
1 Capote de camellão azul uzado		2#000
1 Chapeo de pello velho		#
1 Sobrecazaca de panno azul velha		1#000
1 Cazaca de panno cor de rapé		3#000
1 Rodaque de chita velho		#200
1 Boné de panno		#080
		35#340
Rio de Janeiro, 3 de Março de 1846		196#600
Objectos de prata e ouro		

1 Relojo de ouro com caixa lavrado		60#000
1 D.o d.o com d.a liza		20#000
1 Alfinete de brilhantes com hua maõ		36#000
1 D.o de diamantes com hua pedra verde		8#000
1 Medalha de coração de topazios brancos com hum cordão de cobre		4#000
3 Argolas d'ouro pezando 4 oiavas e meia	2#400rs	9#600
1 Alfinete d'Ouro em forma de caõ		3#000
1 D.o com esmalte azul		#640
2 Pares de botoens de coralina		2#400
1 Cordão d'Ouro fino com 2 oitavas em.a	2400rs	6#000
1 D.o d.o com hua chave pendente ao reloj peza duas oitavas emeia	2400rs	6#000
1 D.o d.o grco pezando trinta oitavas em.a	2400rs	73#200
2 Colheres, 2 garfos, 3 colheres decha 1 concha peza 61 oitavas	160rs	9#760
1 Caixa deprata dourada peza 25 oit. em.a	200rs	5#000
		243#600

[f. 21r] Conta da Receita e Despesa q~ fez com a arrecadação do espolio do finado Bartholomeu Bartholazi. | N. 153

Receita		
Dinr.o entregue pelo Conego José Luis de Freitas	30#000	
Import.a cos objectos de prata e ouro conforme a sua avaliação	243#600	
Idem dos diversos e roupa	196#600	
Huã Letra aceita p.r Bernardo José de Figueredo da quantia de	2:800#000	
Huã d.a aceita p.r Joaquim Glz. Ledo da quantia de	2:000#000	
	5:270#200	
Despesas		
Carretos dos objectos existentes em poder do Conego Freitas	#120	
Assignatura do Juiz no juramento dos avaliadores	#400	
Gratificação aos avaliadores dos moveis	8#000	
Idem aos prata e ouro	4#870	
Idem ao Lançador	2#400	
Cont.a	15#790	5:270#200
[f. 21v] Transp.e da Receita		5:270#200
Transp.e das Despesas	15#790	
Sello das avaliações	#480	
Tres requerim.tos p.a promover os termos da arrecadação	3#000	
Sello desta	#160	
Quantia paga ao Conego José Luis de Freitas, como consta do mandado junto	13#000	32#430
Liquido da herança	R.s	5:237#770
a Saber		
Em moveis e roupa	196#600	
Em prata e ouro	243#600	
Em duas letras	4:800#000	5:240#200
Saldo a meo favor		R.s 2#430

Rio de Janr.o 26 de Março de 1846 | João Bernardo Nogr.a da S.a

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